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ABSTRACT

This annual journal presents articles by college faculty about teaching in higher education based on their pedagogical research and their classroom experiences. Articles in the issue for 1991 have the following titles and authors: "The Scholarship of Pedagogy: A Message From the Editors" (Laurie Richlin and Milton D. Cox); "The Social Cognition Approach to Stereotypes and Its Application to Teaching" (Margaret W. Matlin); "The Assignment-Driven Course: A Task-Specific Approach to Teaching" (John F. McClymer and Paul R. Ziegler); "Teaching and Learning--After Class" (George D. Kuh); "Love in the Classroom" (Peter G. Beidler and Rosemarie Tong); "Use of Educational Games for Difficult Subject Material" (Helaine M. Alessio); "Common Instructional Problems in the Multicultural Classroom" (Carol A. Jenkins and Deborah L. Bainer); "'Whole Souled' TEaching and the State of American Education (John K. Roth); "Sign What You Say: An Interactive Approach to Language Learning" (Kathleen M. Hutchinson); "Promoting Minority Student Involvement at the University: Collegial Coaching Support" (V. Patricia Beyer and Joseph B. Cuseo); "Dramas of Persuasion: Utilizing Performance in the Classroom" (Sally Harrison-Pepper); "The Challenge of Diversity: Alienation in the Academy and Its Implications for Faculty" (Daryl G. Smith); "Fulfilling the Promise of the 'Seven Principles' Through Cooperative Learning: An Action Agenda for the University Classroom" (Barbara J. Millis); and "The Honor in Teaching" (Peter G. Beidler). References follow papers. (JB)

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Journal on Excellence in College Teaching

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The Scholarship of Pedagogy: A Message From the Editors

Laurie Richlin
Executive Editor

Milton D. Cox
Editor-in-Chief

There is a growing and respected national discussion about the relationship between teaching and research. These two vital parts of the academy are not mutually exclusive: the interplay between them forms the basis for the distinctive nature of the modern university and college. Rather than see them in opposition, there is new thinking which places both in a more inclusive view of scholarship. Within that context, a few nationally known scholars have begun to define a "scholarship of teaching." Foremost among them are Boyer, Rice, Shulman, Berliner, and Cross. Their work, focusing on teaching as an intellectual activity, complements the budding interest in learning among faculty. Incorporating this new viewpoint into the fabric of academe is one of the greatest challenges facing higher education. The *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching* is a response to that goal.

Scholarship Reconsidered

One attempt to reframe the debate between research and teaching appears in a new report from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which talks about multidimensional aspects of scholarship. The first volume, *Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate*, written by Boyer, proposes four components: "the scholarship of *discovery*; the scholarship of *integration*; the scholarship of *application*; and the scholarship of *teaching*" (1990, p. 16). He states, "(E)very scholar must . . . demonstrate the capacity to do original research, study a serious intellectual problem and present to colleagues the results" (p. 27).

LaPidus expands that to include communication with novices, as well as peers:

> We have assumed that research is the logical and desired outcome of scholarly training and rarely have considered the idea that scholarship is the process we use to bring together the results of research so that we understand the current state of knowledge and can speculate intelligently about the future. Viewed in that light, teaching, as the act of refining and transmitting the knowledge acquired through research and scholarship, becomes a direct and desirable outcome of scholarly training. (1987, p. 9)

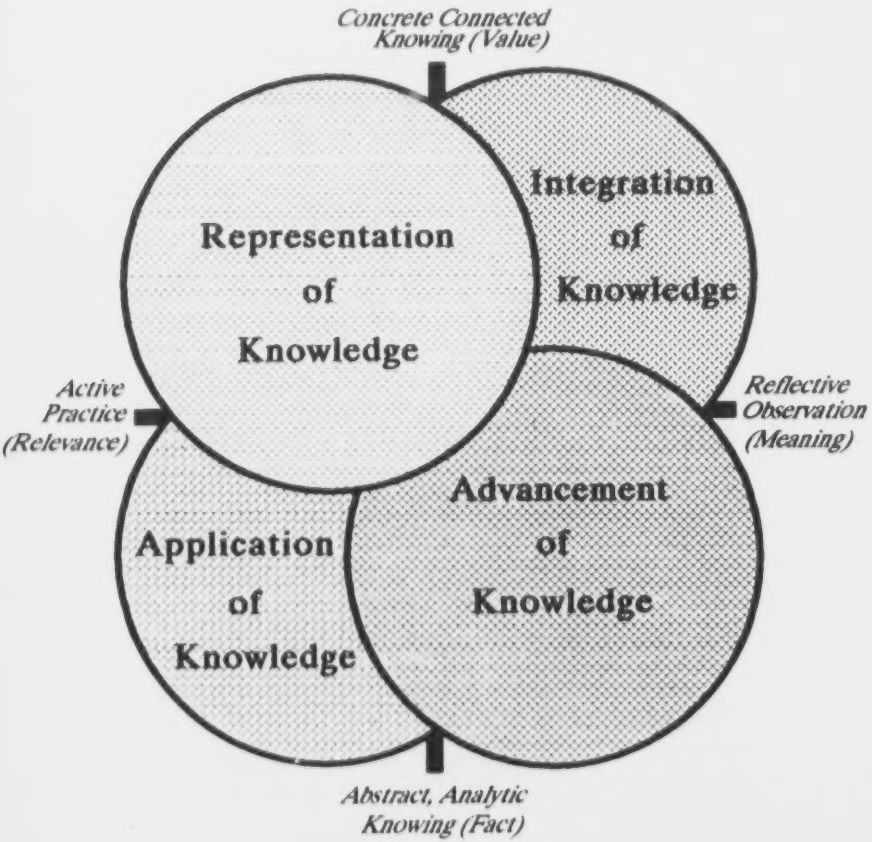
The Carnegie report calls for broadening the academic reward system to include the wider definition of scholarship. Boyer proposes two strategies for implementation of the multiple scholarships. The first is that institutions should "carve out niches for themselves to reflect the diversity of higher education, rather than imitate other institutions considered more prestigious"; the second is that faculty should be allowed to design three-to-five-year "creativity contracts" which allow them to focus on various scholarly activities during their careers (Boyer, 1990, pp. 63, 64; Leatherman, 1990, p. A16; Mooney, 1990, p. A16). Boyer urges "that every higher learning institution define its own special mission and develop a system of faculty recognition and rewards that relates to what the campus is seeking to accomplish" (p. 57). He visualizes teaching as a "core requirement" for the college or university, but that "some campuses might decide to give priority to research, others might elect to give special emphasis to teaching, while still others to the integration or application of knowledge and some may provide a blend of all" (p. 56). In fact, he "can also imagine that even *within* institutions, different priorities may prevail from one department or division to another" (p. 56). Research universities "more than any other" must blend "good teachers, as well as good researchers" (p. 58). At doctorate-granting universities, a "mosaic of talent should be carefully considered" (p. 58); at liberal arts colleges, "It seems clear that teaching undergraduates should continue to be viewed as the measure of success" (p. 59), although a "faculty member may, from time to time, choose to focus on a research project, at least at one point or another in their careers" (pp. 59-60); comprehensive colleges and universities "need models" which "give distinctiveness to the mission" and "blend quality and innovation" by choosing to emphasize integration (e.g., "sponsor colloquia and all-college forums"), or application (e.g., "reward faculty who establish links with institutions beyond the campus, relate the intellectual life to contemporary problems, and . . . become centers of service to the communities that surround them"), or "return to their roots" (i.e., as teacher training institutions "doing research on pedagogy") (p. 63).

The New American Scholar

A second Carnegie Foundation volume, being written by Rice, attempts to place the scholarship of teaching in context, rather than set it aside or contrast it with research. (The anticipated title, "The New American Scholar" is based on Emerson's oration, "The American Scholar," given to the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge on August 31, 1837.) According to Rice, there is a need to honor teaching as scholarship by finding its intellectual basis (AAHE Assessment, 1989; Rice, 1990; Teaching Professor, 1990). Rice has placed the four types of scholarship in the Kolb (1984) model of approaches to knowing (Figure 1). He calls this view of scholarship "more appropriate, more authentic, and more adaptive for both our institutions and the day-to-day working lives of faculty" (Rice, 1990, p. 1). Rather than seeing integration, application, and pedagogy as what faculty do in addition to real scholarship,

Figure 1

Rice's Placement of Scholarship Types in Kolb Diagram



Source: Rice, E. (1990). Rethinking what it means to be a scholar. *Teaching excellence: Toward the best in the academy*. Stillwater, OK: POD Network.

he contends that "these other forms of scholarship--these other ways of knowing--are as legitimate, significant, and needed as the dominant mode" (p. 1).

The "Advancement of Knowledge" is located in the "reflective observation/abstract (meaning)-analytic knowing (fact)" quadrant of the Kolb diagram. It includes the "discovery of knowledge-original research" which comes from being on the "cutting edge of a specialization" (Rice, 1990, p. 1).

"Integration of Knowledge" is located in the "concrete connected knowing (value)-reflective observation (meaning)" quadrant. This "divergent approach to knowing . . . reaches across disciplinary boundaries and pulls disparate views and information together in creative ways" (p. 2). For integration, scholars need "to look for new relationships between the parts and the whole, to relate the past and future to the present, and to fetter out patterns of meaning that cannot be seen through traditional disciplinary lenses" (p. 2).

"Application of Knowledge" (which Rice calls the "most distinctively American") is located in the "active practice (relevance)-abstract, analytic knowing (fact)" quadrant. This scholarship historically has informed the development of the land-grant colleges and professional schools, where "practical competence became professional when grounded in systematic, preferably scientific knowledge" (p. 2). The "reassessment of the relationship between scholarship and practice" by Schön and others, questions the "hierarchical conception of scholarship that makes the application of knowledge derivative, and consequently second best" (p. 2).

The fourth type of scholarship, "Scholarship for Teaching" (also called "Representation of Knowledge") is located in the "concrete connected knowing (value)-active practice (relevance)" quadrant. Rice identifies three elements in this scholarship: "synoptic capacity," the ability to place what is known in context; "pedagogical content knowledge," knowing a subject in a way to communicate it; and understanding learning, knowing how students "make meaning" (p. 2).

Rice acknowledges that the new scholarship "challenges a hierarchical arrangement of monumental proportions--a status system that is firmly fixed in the consciousness of the present faculty and the academy's organizational policies and practices," but calls for "a broader, more open field where these different forms of scholarship can interact, inform, and enrich one another, and faculty can follow their interests, build on their strengths, and be rewarded for what they spend most of their scholarly energy doing" (p. 2).

Teaching as an Intellectual Activity

To be considered scholarly, teaching must be understood as an intellectual activity (Cross, 1990). Arrowsmith contends that "(S)o long as the teacher is viewed as merely a diffuser of knowledge or a higher popularizer, his position will necessarily be a modest and even menial one . . . . For if the teacher stands to the scholar as the pianist to the composer, there can be no question of parity . . . . Our entire educational enterprise is in fact founded upon the

wholly false premise that *at some prior stage* the essential educational work has been done" (1967, pp. 57, 60).

Hauerwas (1988) made "a more substantive claim about the importance of teaching for sustaining intellectual growth. Teaching is not just the way we get paid in order to sustain our research, but our most important intellectual resource to challenge the current captivity of the university to the 'disciplines' . . . . When teaching becomes solely a matter of expertise, the very nature of scholarship is perverted or our specialization or discipline legitimates what might be inconvenient to know" (pp. 23, 24). Fitzgerald contends that "teaching is a vocation or occupation which requires both intellectual skills and advanced training. Hence, by this definition teaching is composed of two distinct parts: mastery of a specific body of knowledge plus advanced training in the dissemination and application of this knowledge in the professional area" (1989, p. 3).

In searching for the "expert pedagogue," Berliner found change and growth in abilities between novice and experts:

> We sometimes seem to have problems with our perception of teachers' skillfulness, categorizing it as mere practice. We often confuse the cognition necessary for exemplary performance with the validity of the course of action. When an expert physics problem solver takes time and announces that the problem involves Newton's second law, he or she is an expert. When an experienced teacher takes time and classifies a child's learning problems into three categories that lead to a particular set of actions, it is often considered to be an example of something less. We make a great mistake if we confuse the validity of the inferences with the inference making process . . . . Practical problem solving, it seems, has a kind of low-class reputation. Because the sources of professional knowledge for a teacher are highly bound by time, materials, and place, we call it practical knowledge. But it now appears that such domain-specific knowledge is a characteristic of every kind of expert. In other fields we honor such knowledge. In education, it is merely practical, and what is often implied is that such knowledge is less complex, less understandable, or less amenable to scientific study. (Berliner, 1986, p. 13)

Shulman says that "teaching will be considered a scholarly activity only when professors develop a conception of pedagogy that is very tightly coupled to scholarship in the disciplines themselves" (1990). "The conception of pedagogical reasoning places emphasis upon the intellectual basis for teaching performance rather than on behavior alone" (Shulman, 1987, p. 20). It is the "integral relationships between teaching and the scholarly domains of the liberal arts" that Shulman believes should inform the education of future teachers (1987, p. 20). Shulman sees three necessities for creating the new type of scholar: a community designed to stimulate discourse around pedagogical scholarship; a conception of scholarship that reconnects it to teaching, deeply rooted in the disciplines which comprise the rest of academic scholarship; and mechanisms for bringing the scholarship and community together (1990). He

believes it is necessary to start with the discipline, not the technique, to improve teaching.

Conant observed that a "field could be called scientific when knowledge has accumulated, progress is evident in the development of new conceptual schemes resulting from experiments and observations, and conceptual schemes lead, in turn, to more research" (1947, quoted in McKeachie, 1990, p. 189). McKeachie looked at the field of pedagogy as science and found that it "clearly meets Conant's criteria for a scientific field" (p. 189). With what has been discovered already about learning, the "frontier of knowledge about college teaching thus becomes even more challenging" (p. 197).

The Shoulders of Giants

As a scientific field, pedagogical scholarship must begin to "stand on the shoulders of giants," to build, not simply rediscover. To accomplish this, it is essential that faculty hold themselves to the same high standards in their observations of teaching and learning as they have traditionally done in their disciplines. As the scholarship of teaching begins to develop, it seems natural that faculty will first consider methods of observation and of drawing conclusions similar to those in their disciplines. On the other hand, the natural setting--the roots--for this scholarship is in the social sciences. Unfortunately, academics in the natural sciences and humanities are not usually familiar with the basics of social science research; even social scientists who would never commit such errors when working in their fields, often begin pedagogical studies without baselines or hypotheses, do not keep accurate records of interventions, and fail to report results past "the students liked it."

Across the board, the professoriate is sadly unaware of the literature on teaching and learning. This is true even of many outstanding college teachers. Teaching is the applied aspect of pedagogy, and the "Scholarship of Application" applies to the relationship between classroom practice and pedagogical theory. It is hoped, of course, that each informs the other, with the mutual goal of improved student learning. This separation explains, for instance, the reasoning behind releasing faculty from classroom assignments while they participate in "teaching scholar" programs: They are spending their time in the *theoretical* part of pedagogy, rather than the *applied* aspect. It is not that, having been selected as good teachers, they stop teaching, but that they are working on the intellectual bases of their teaching.

Just as the professional journals in sociology, mathematics, English, biology, and the other disciplines have shaped excellence in their fields through the winnowing process of selecting manuscripts for publication, so the *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching* intends to actively participate in the setting of standards for pedagogical scholarship. The Executive Editor and the Editorial Board, composed of nationally recognized scholars, review submissions for concise description of the problem, method, and results, and for discussion of the implications of the study *in context* of what has already been investigated. We are equally open to studies that include new data or

that integrate or reform prior theory. In all cases, we hope authors will present proposals for innovation and provide inspiration for outstanding teaching.

A Look at This Issue

The articles contained in this volume were written by faculty based on their pedagogical research and their classroom experiences.

Four articles present findings about one of the major problems facing the academy today: helping nontraditional students succeed. **Matlin** looks at the psychological aspects of stereotyping and how they influence behavior. **Jenkins and Bainer** analyze variables associated with minority student learning. **Beyer and Cuseo** report results of a program for promoting minority student involvement. And **Smith** addresses the sources of alienation within the academy which lead to student failure.

In the "applied" area, authors address both discipline-specific and broad-based innovations for improving learning. **Harrison-Pepper** describes the effects of using student behavior as part of the curriculum. **Alessio** reports on the development and use of games that reinforce difficult subject material. **Hutchinson** shows the results of adaptation of a sign communication technique based on Direct Experience Method (DEM) principles to college-level students. **McClymer and Ziegler** describe how they designed a course around a set of "authentic" assignments. **Kuh** reminds us of the importance of learning *outside* of class through the impact of the campus culture on the student. And **Millis** connects cooperative learning to the fulfillment of the "Seven Principles of Good Practice in Undergraduate Education."

As one of the aspects of being a profession, teaching is a "calling" as well as a job. Deep reflection on what really happens in the classroom between teacher and student to effect learning is an important part of developing an educational philosophy. **Beidler and Tong**'s "epistolary paper" is the result of a year-long correspondence investigating how love has affected them in the classroom. **Roth** confronts the criticisms of modern education with his exploration of "whole-souled" teaching. And **Beidler** investigates the origins and different interpretations of "honor" as it applies to teaching.

Once again, the *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching* is meant to be *used* by faculty and others concerned with providing the best education possible in our universities and two- and four-year colleges. We encourage you to read, ponder, use, and respond to the contributions in this volume.

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The Social Cognition Approach to Stereotypes and Its Application to Teaching

Margaret W. Matlin
SUNY Geneseo

A humorist once said that there are two categories of people in the world: those who divide everything into two categories and those who do not. This article will argue that the humorist was wrong. We *all* show strong tendencies to categorize, though we sometimes use more than two categories. In particular, we simplify our social world by dividing people into categories on the basis of gender, race, age, and other personal characteristics.

Psychologists who study human characteristics such as gender and race can take one of two approaches to their topic. (Notice, then, that we can actually categorize these psychologists.) Let us consider the case of a psychologist, such as myself, interested in the psychology of gender. I could study gender as either a subject variable or a stimulus variable.

In examining gender as a subject variable, we consider male versus female *subjects*, that is, a characteristic of the people themselves. In general, this approach focuses on the investigation of gender differences, also called sex differences. To perform a study, we select a group of males and a group of females and see how their scores differ on some measure. For instance, we might see whether males and females differ in their scores on a mathematics test. Or we might examine whether males and females differ in the extent to which they help a stranger. We ask whether the gender of the *subject* makes a difference. Similarly, we could ask whether the race of the subject makes a difference. Readers are probably familiar with the many studies that address the question of whether Blacks and Whites achieve different scores on IQ tests, for instance.

This article will not dwell on the subject variable topic, except when it is relevant to our primary topic of *stimulus* variables. For instance, it is relevant to note that male and female subjects are often remarkably similar on a wide variety of psychological characteristics, so gender as a *subject* variable typically

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Margaret Matlin *is the author of the textbooks* Cognition *and* Sensation & Perception *(both in their second edition),* The Psychology of Women, *and* Experimental Psychology. *She has also written an introductory psychology textbook, to be published in December 1992. In 1985, she received the American Psychological Association's Teaching of Psychology award in the four-year college and university division.*

is not very important. Males and females generally are fairly similar in their intellectual abilities and social behavior (Matlin, 1987). To be more specific, on almost every test of mathematics ability, the scores of male and female students show a large overlap, and we are unlikely to find a significant difference in their average math scores that could have any practical importance.

Stimulus Variables

Let us turn now to the topic of *stimulus* variables. Now we focus on how people react to other humans who differ on a particular characteristic. For example, if we are interested in studying gender as a stimulus characteristic,we ask people to make judgments about males versus females. We want to know whether people in general have different thoughts about males than they have about females. For instance, we might ask people to guess how well a college freshman named John would do on a mathematics test, compared with a college freshman named Jane. Chances are that people would predict John to do substantially better. Therefore, gender as a stimulus variable is typically fairly important. In fact, gender as a stimulus variable is generally more important than gender as a subject variable (Matlin, 1987).

If people react differently to men than to women, then we can conclude that people believe in gender differences. Unger (1979) called this phenomenon "the illusion of sex differences." She writes, "Men and women are especially alike in their beliefs about their own differences" (p. 1086). Ironically, one gender similarity is that both women and men believe that the two genders are *different*. People tend to believe stereotypes about men and women that are not supported by reality.

Many of the examples in this article illustrate gender stereotypes, my own area of specific interest and the topic that probably has been researched most extensively. However, in most cases we can translate these examples into other kinds of stereotypes. Obviously, we can have stereotypes about race or ethnic group. We can have stereotypes about age, for instance, about elderly people. We can have stereotypes about religion, people with handicaps, gay men and lesbians, and social class.

But before exploring the cognitive basis of these stereotypes, I want to introduce another kind of stereotype that has been intriguing psychologists for more than a decade, although it does not concern any particular protected class. This is stereotyping on the basis of personal appearance, with more attractive people generally receiving special status. Discrimination on the basis of personal appearance is now called *looksism*, a neologism that does not roll off one's tongue easily but is nevertheless a useful concept. As it happens, our culture and many other cultures treat people differently depending upon how physically attractive they are. This differential treatment, or emphasis on attractiveness as a stimulus characteristic, is particularly blatant when people

make judgments about females. It is often noticeable, but not as prominent, when people make judgments about males.

Even toddlers are influenced by looksism. For instance, consider an intriguing study by Smith (1985) at Dickinson University. Smith studied middle-class White preschoolers between the ages of 2 and 5. He observed them in a preschool classroom and recorded how other children responded to physically attractive and physically unattractive children. In other words, physical attractiveness was a stimulus variable. Smith recorded the number of times each child was treated antisocially--how often the child was hit, pushed, or kicked. Smith also recorded how often each child was treated prosocially--how often he or she was helped, patted, or praised. Smith's results showed that physical attractiveness makes a difference to people, even before they are old enough to go to school. Specifically, the little girls who were cute tended to get helped, patted, and praised more than the little girls who were unattractive. And the little girls who were cute tended to get hit, pushed, and kicked *less* than the little girls who were unattractive. Interestingly, though, attractiveness was not related to how the little boys were treated. Cute little boys and unattractive little boys were treated similarly on both antisocial and prosocial dimensions.

Looksism continues into adulthood, and typically physical attractiveness matters more for women than for men. In general, people judge that physically attractive people have more socially desirable personalities than do less attractive people. As Dion, Berscheid, and Walster (1972) said in summarizing numerous studies, "What is beautiful is good" (p. 285).

Now let us consider how stereotypes might be relevant to teaching. Most obvious, we need to consider how, as teachers and administrators, our stereotypes influence our treatment of students. Do we treat a male student differently from a female student, or a Black student differently from a White student? Do we respond differently to a Hispanic student sitting in our office than we do to a Japanese student? If a slender, attractive woman student asks for an extension on the due date for her paper, do we give her a different answer than we give an overweight, physically unattractive woman who makes the same request?

We also need to think about the wider context in which stereotypes operate. Our college students have spent at least 18 years living in a society that perpetuates stereotypes; inevitably they have absorbed these stereotypes. A freshman student at my college reported that he overheard a conversation between two of his classmates. One classmate wondered aloud why the Black students always sat together in the classroom. The other responded that the only way they could pass a test was to work together on the answers. As professors, we are often shielded from the realization that our students are prejudiced. We need to be vigilant for stereotypes and prejudice in the students we teach.

We must also consider that our students may have to combat their parents' stereotypes. A student in my Psychology of Women class commented that her mother had told her how relieved she was that the daughter would be

graduating that year, because next year SUNY Geneseo's new president was to be a woman, and there was no telling what would happen to the college with a woman president. Furthermore, when our new president did arrive on campus, she reported that she had received several letters--hate mail, specifically--even before she had left her previous position. These were letters from angry parents who said that they had sent their daughters to Geneseo because our students were predominantly White. Now that our new president was fervently trying to recruit minority students, their daughters would no longer be safe.

We need to remember that our students are growing up in a society where even our elected officials openly state their prejudices. For instance, Representative William Dannemeyer of California referred to the "generally unhealthy lives of homosexuals" and "their enslaving pathology. They attack morality and virtue at every turn. Though comparatively few in number, homosexuals are well placed in society to perpetuate their chosen behavior." Is it any wonder, then, that when the gay support group on my campus puts up signs about their meetings, those signs are all ripped down by the next morning? Should I be surprised when a gay student tells me that every morning for a week he awoke to find that someone had taped a newspaper clipping to his door, always about someone who had died of AIDS?

And, sadly, we need to be concerned about the messages our colleagues are giving to our students, as well as to other colleagues. A few years ago, a very talented student told me that her chemistry professor had told her she should not consider medical school, but should raise a family instead, just as his own wife had. Fortunately, she went on to do well at Albert Einstein School of Medicine, but how many with less motivation and less sense of outrage have been discouraged?

The Stereotyping Process

So far I have discussed the point that characteristics of people (stimulus variables) can influence our reactions to those people. Next I mentioned the kinds of stereotypes, such as looksism, that can influence these reactions. Then I briefly noted the variety of ways in which stereotypes can penetrate the academic setting. The remainder of this article discusses the origins of stereotypes as well as the stereotyping process.

For many years, psychologists emphasized the motivational aspects of stereotypes. We saw stereotypes as inherently negative and prejudicial (Deaux, 1985). That is, people held stereotypes because something was *wrong* with them. Consider, for instance, the scapegoat theory of prejudice. The origin of the term *scapegoat* is with the ancient Hebrews, who had a custom that was exercised during the days of atonement. A priest would place his hands on the head of a goat, while reciting the sins of the people. This action symbolically transferred the sin and evil from the people to the goat. The

priest then allowed the goat to escape into the wilderness. The community was thereby cleansed of its sins (Aronson, 1988).

In more recent times, the word *scapegoat* has referred to a fairly powerless but innocent person who is forced to take the blame for something that is not his or her fault. However, that person is not encouraged to escape into the wilderness but is usually the victim of cruel remarks, torture, and even death. Aronson (1988) notes that in Nazi Germany, it was the Jews; in 19th-century California, it was Chinese immigrants; in the rural South, it was Black people. For instance, researchers found several decades ago that they could predict how many Blacks would be lynched in the South in a given year once they knew the price of cotton during that year. When the price of cotton dropped, people experienced an economic depression, clearly a frustrating situation, so they took out their frustrations by lynching innocent Blacks. The scapegoat approach to prejudice has a definite psychodynamic flavor; people displace their frustrations from one target to another.

In the last 15 years, however, a different emphasis has emerged in theories about the origins of stereotypes. With the rise of cognitive approaches in psychology, we have placed increasing emphasis on *normal* human thought processes. Now social psychologists tend to see stereotypes as "potentially neutral categories that operate in the same way as do other cognitive categories" (Deaux, 1985, p. 66). The social cognition approach to interpersonal relationships addresses "how people make sense of other people and themselves" (Fiske & Taylor, 1984, p. 12).

According to Hamilton (1979), one cognitive process that seems to be nearly inevitable in humans is the tendency to lump the people we meet into social groups. We divide people into categories, such as females versus males, Blacks versus Whites versus Asians, Catholics versus Protestants versus Jews, and homosexuals versus heterosexuals. This basic categorization process is a necessary component of stereotyping; we could not have stereotypes of women and men, for example, unless we first made a distinction between them.

The cognitive approach to stereotypes argues that people are confronted with a vast assortment of incoming stimuli (Bem, 1981). Think about the visual and auditory chaos that surrounds you when you drive in a city, for example. You could be easily overwhelmed if you did not have some methods for simplifying and imposing order upon the chaos. Your thought processes help you by organizing your world; you group objects together into categories. For instance, while driving, you respond to items in the category *red light* by stopping the car. The categorization process organizes your world and allows you to respond efficiently. You regard all things within the category *red light* as similar in important respects. In reality, those lights do vary from one another. One might be slightly orange, rather than true red, and another might be particularly bright. However, you place all these lights into the same category, and you respond to them similarly.

Bem (1981) argues that the primary way in which we categorize *people* is on the basis of gender. This categorization is both habitual and automatic. Notice

how little actual thought is involved. In fact, after you have finished reading this article, try *not* to pay attention to the gender of the first person you meet. It is nearly impossible to suppress this tendency to split the world in half, using gender as the great divide. Clearly, too, we categorize our students according to gender.

When we categorize objects and people, life is easier because our environment is simplified. However, this same categorization process can also produce errors in the way we perceive, remember, and understand the world (Berkowitz, 1986).

People who favor the social cognition approach argue that a stereotype is the organized set of beliefs about the personal characteristics belonging to members of an identifiable group (Ashmore & DelBoca, 1979). Notice that stereotypes are cognitive; they refer to our thoughts and beliefs, and they may have little correspondence with reality. A stereotype is a "picture in the head" rather than an accurate mirror of the real world. The stereotype organizes our prior knowledge and expectations about other people who fall into certain socially defined categories. We expect certain behaviors and standards of people on the basis of their age, race, sex, religion, education, sexual preference, and so forth. For instance, when I drive past the roadhouse near my home on a Saturday afternoon and see the people dressed in black leather jackets, parking their motorcycles, I expect certain behaviors from them--a swaggering walk, cigarette smoking, etc. I would not expect them to tune their radios to the classical music station just in time for the Metropolitan Opera's broadcast of *La Bohéme*. (Incidentally, stereotypes *can* be accurate.)

A stereotype simplifies reality. A stereotype allows us to interpret specific instances in light of the general case (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). A stereotype guides the way we cognitively process information. A stereotype allows us to construct a simplified model of the world that helps the perception of new information, memory for old information, and inferences that go beyond both perceptions and memory (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Mednick, 1989).

Stereotypes and Perception

Let us discuss how stereotypes can influence our perception. One aspect is that we are more likely to focus our attention on a particular behavior that is consistent with our expectations. Cognitive psychologists propose that we humans are continuously bombarded with stimuli--too many to take in all at one time. Therefore, we must be selective about the information we take in; we pay attention to some information and ignore other information. Specifically, we take in information consistent with our previous expectations, stereotypes, or schemata. If an economics professor has a stereotype that females are not very knowledgeable about financial issues, the professor may notice an error in a female student's midterm essay, but may fail to pay attention to the next sentence, which contains a strong, insightful point.

Remember, too, that people tend to categorize; for example, all females fit into the category *women*. Interestingly, White people seem to think that all Blacks, even fairly pale Blacks, fit into the category *Black*. We might think that people are more prejudiced against those with dark black skin than those with light tan skin (who may in fact be paler than a Caucasian just back from a trip to Florida). However, this is not the case. The act of categorizing someone as Black makes that person seem even more like other category members (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). As an affirmation of this point, let me note a remark made in a recent talk by Maya Angelou, a Black woman poet. She was describing the close friendship she had with a White woman and how they often felt like sisters. One time the White friend was discussing a Black woman they both had met some time earlier. Angelou could not recall who the woman was, so she asked, "What color was she?" The White friend replied, "But I told you she was Black." Angelou responded, "Yes, but what color of Black?" To a White person, everybody we compartmentalize as Black is black, and we fail to appreciate the richness of skin colors between pale tan and nearly plum-colored black.

Angelou's anecdote illustrates another point regarding perception and stereotypes. We tend to minimize the amount of variability in the group with lower prestige, what we could call the *outgroup*. We simply conclude, "They are all alike." In contrast, we believe that the group with higher prestige, the *ingroup*, has enormous variability. White people tend to think about Black people along fewer dimensions than they do White people (Linville & Jones, 1980). The same is true for age. Young people think that older people are all the same. I remember reading about an interview with a nurse at a nursing home who said about the elderly people in her institution, "It's so wonderful. They all have their own little personalities." I would suspect, relevant to age, that we professors tend to group our returning women students into the same category, concluding that they are all quite similar. In reality, however, they may have very different life situations. One may be happily married, with a full-time job and two children. Another may be a woman who has just left a battering situation, who is clinically depressed and has a child with behavior disorders. (In fact, these summaries describe two students I have taught in the last two years.) We probably have more variation among returning students than we have in our mainstream, fresh-out-of-high-school students. However, until I started to prepare this article, I probably would have seen returning students as more similar to each other than traditional undergraduate students.

The tendency to see outgroup members as highly similar to one another has an interesting effect: People make rash predictions about a whole group of outsiders on the basis of meeting only one of them (Fiske & Taylor, 1984).

We've noted two perceptual consequences of stereotypes: (a) We pay attention to behavior that matches our stereotypes, and (b) outgroup members are perceived as more similar to each other than are ingroup members. A third perceptual consequence is that categorizing someone slants perception of the *content* of what the person does. A boy who takes an eraser from another child

may be seen as aggressive if he is Black, but only assertive if he is White (Sagar & Schofield, 1980). A college student who is sarcastic may be perceived as spiteful if the student is female, but cynical if the student is male.

Notice, then, that we perceive an action differently depending upon the characteristics of the doer. This tendency occurs even if we are judging infants. For instance, when people watched a videotape of an infant crying, they thought the crying reflected anger when they had been led to believe the baby was a boy. In contrast, when they had been led to believe the baby was a girl, they interpreted this very same crying as fear (Condry & Condry, 1976).

Psychologists interested in the area of perception called pattern recognition often point out that perception occurs because of both top-down and bottom-up processes. Top-down processes include our concepts, knowledge about the world, expectations, and in this case, stereotypes. Bottom-up processing stresses the importance of the stimulus as registered on our sensory receptors. In the case of stereotypes, we pay too much attention to top-down processing and not enough attention to bottom-up processing. As Hamilton (1981) commented about the powerful influence of expectations on perception, "I wouldn't have seen it if I hadn't believed it" (p. 137).

Stereotypes and Memory

So far in this discussion of the cognitive basis of stereotypes, I have noted how these stereotypes influence perception. Now let us consider how stereotypes shape memory. Specifically, stereotypes tend to bias memory toward consistent attributes. Let me describe a study by Cohen (1981) about people's stereotypes regarding occupations. People in this study watched a videotape of a woman having a birthday dinner with her husband. If they had been told that the woman worked as a waitress, people remembered that she was drinking beer in the video and that she owned a television. Other people watched the same videotape, but they were told that the woman worked as a librarian. These people remembered that she wore glasses and that she owned classical records. In general, then, when we are uncertain about something in memory, we tend to fill in the blanks consistent with our stereotypes.

Let me suggest an example of how this principle could operate in teaching. Recently a Korean-American freshman advisee came in for help in planning her fall schedule. Because of the common stereotype that Asian students are high achievers, I remembered her folder as showing a strong high school record and good SAT scores. I "filled in the blanks," based on the stereotype. Fortunately, I decided to check her record and found that it was just average. If I had based my course recommendations on my faulty memory, I wouldn't have advised her well.

Consider a second example. A student asked me to write a letter of recommendation for her, because she was transferring to another college. She was attractive, professional-looking, and very animated in her interactions. I remembered her as having been an outstanding student in my introductory

psychology course. Before I began to write the letter, I pulled out my grade book and found that she had actually received a D on the first exam, and only one of her exam grades had been an A. I was the victim of looksism, as it affected my recall for grades.

A second effect that stereotypes have on memory is that we tend to confuse members of a category with one another. In a study by Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, and Ruderman (1978), people watched a slide/tape presentation that portrayed three males and three females discussing how to increase voter turnout on election day. Every time someone on the tape spoke, a picture of a man or a woman was projected. People watched and listened to this presentation for several minutes. Then they were asked to match each remark from the discussion with the appropriate picture. The results of the study showed that when people made a mistake in matching the comment with the person, they displayed an overwhelming tendency to assign the remark to someone else of the same gender. We seem to code according to gender, and it is highly likely that we also code according to race and other categories as well.

Several years ago, I made an embarrassing mistake that shows the impact of stereotypes and categorization on memory. Two Black women who had been in my Human Development class were my advisees. I had read in the student newspaper that one of them, Candace, was the head of the Black Student Union. When the other student, Virginia, came in to talk about career possibilities, I commented that she must have leadership ability, because of her position with the Black Student Union. Clearly, I had confused the two women. That experience forced me to try to differentiate as carefully as possible in my memory between the Black students in my classes and to remember their distinctive characteristics. Indeed, these two Black women were just as different from each other as any pair of White women in the class.

So it seems that two ways in which stereotypes can influence memory are that (a) we misremember information so that our recall is biased in the direction of the stereotype, and (b) we confuse in our memory people who belong to the same category. A third way in which stereotypes can influence memory concerns biased recall about a token member of a category. What happens when there is one woman in an engineering class, one Black in a German class, or one man in a women's studies class? In general, that token person assumes more prominence in our memory than if she or he had been a member of a more evenly balanced classroom.

In a representative study on token people, Taylor (1981) presented a tape recording of a group discussion, accompanied by slides that presumably pictured group members. In this case, the group discussion was an informal conversation in a teacher's lounge. Taylor included three conditions in her study: One condition had one woman and five men; a second had three women and three men; and a third had five women and one man. Taylor's results showed that both the male and the female tokens were remembered more prominently than when the same individuals appeared in the evenly balanced group of three women and three men. The participants in the study remembered that the token person talked more, made a greater impression,

had a stronger personality, and was more confident and assertive than when the same person appeared in the gender-balanced group.

I have discussed two of the major ways in which stereotypes and category memberships influence cognitive processes. Specifically, our tendency to categorize people into groups and to believe in stereotypes influences both our perception and memory. However, the categorization process not only helps guide the perception of new information and our memory for old information; in addition, this process influences our judgment, that is, our inferences.

Stereotypes and Inferences

Let me begin by discussing what is called the evaluative extremity effect. The same study by Taylor (1981) on the memory for token group member also reported how well the participants *liked* each person. The results showed that people gave more extreme evaluations for token members than for members of evenly balanced groups. That is, a person who was viewed somewhat positively in a sex-balanced group was viewed *very* positively when he or she was the token member of a group. In contrast, a person who was viewed somewhat negatively was viewed *very* negatively when he or she was the token member of a group. Stereotypes therefore lead to exaggerated judgments.

The evaluative extremity effect also has been demonstrated for race. Linville and Jones (1980) asked college students to evaluate application materials of people hoping to be admitted to law school. These students judged a good application from a Black student as better than the same application from a White student. In contrast, a weak application from a Black student was judged worse than if it was from a White student.

A final study by Linville (1982) confirms this evaluative extremity effect for another category, age. Linville found that people evaluated a favorable target person more positively if this person was elderly rather than young. In contrast, an unfavorable target person was evaluated more negatively if he or she was elderly rather than young.

To translate this evaluative extremity effect into classroom terms with the race variable, for instance, we probably show some tendency to upgrade an A- essay written by a Black student, so that we assign it a slightly higher grade than we would an essay of equal quality by a White student. In contrast, we might show a tendency in the opposite direction when we grade a low-quality paper written by a Black student. The evaluative extremity effect suggests that a C- paper would be graded somewhat more negatively if written by a Black student; the paper might receive a D.

This evaluative extremity effect shows that we don't simply have a negative reaction to all members of a less prestigious group. If a student is reasonably outstanding, he or she may be viewed even more positively. However, note an important caution: Our biases in perception and memory may guarantee

that few students of a less prestigious group could have the potential to be seen as reasonably outstanding. That is, our stereotypes help prevent us from *perceiving* their strong qualities, and those same stereotypes help prevent us from *remembering* their strong qualities. So when we assemble all the information in preparation for an evaluation, we may have few candidates in the "reasonably outstanding student" category. In contrast, our biased perception and memory may create an overcrowded "reasonably incompetent student" category.

Fiske and Taylor (1984) argue that the evaluative extremity effect is caused by a lack of complexity in our mental picture of members of a less prestigious group. Specifically, a little information can be a dangerous thing, because it allows the perceiver to go overboard in either a positive or negative direction, depending upon the drift of the scanty information. A White professor knows relatively little about Blacks, for instance, so a few items of positive or negative information can easily tip the balance. This same White professor knows relatively more about Whites. A few items of positive or negative information will be inserted into a much more differentiated knowledge base. The professor is less likely to go overboard for White students.

When we gather together all the information from our perceptions and memory, we typically evaluate a person, but we also frequently make a second kind of judgment. This second kind of judgment is an inference about the reasons for a person's success or failure. Cognitive social psychologists call this inference *causal attribution*. We humans are not content simply to evaluate, saying "fine job" or "mediocre paper." Instead, we make causal attributions in our search for meaning and interpretation.

Fiske and Taylor (1984) provide an interesting example of how stereotypes can influence causal attributions. Their example concerns a student evaluating a professor, instead of our current focus on professors evaluating students. In their anecdote, an admiring graduate student remarked to a female professor, "Gee, you've published so much. You must work really hard." "No," snapped the professor in response. "I don't work especially hard. I'm just smart."

This anecdote illustrates a common finding in the research on causal attribution, regarding how people try to explain why someone is successful. When a woman is successful, people tend to attribute her success to hard work, to the amount of effort she exerted, or to some reason other than ability. In contrast, when a man is successful on the very same task, people tend to attribute his success to high ability, a more permanent characteristic. In a typical study, for instance, people were asked to assign attributions for successful male and female medical students. The participants tended to say that the male student was successful because he had high ability. In contrast, the female student's success was seldom attributed to ability. Instead, the participants said that the female student was successful because she was lucky, because the task was easy, or because (the worst news yet) she had cheated on her examinations (Feather & Simon, 1975).

It seems that people avoid attributing success to ability whenever they are judging the success of a group that is less prestigious. In research on race, for

instance, students read a description of a highly successful banker who was either Black or White, female or male (Yarkin, Town, & Wallston, 1982). Then they were asked to judge whether the success of this banker should be attributed to ability, effort, task easiness, or luck. The students tended to explain the White male's success in terms of high ability. In contrast, when they made judgments about the White female, the Black male, and the Black female (all of the less prestigious categories), people thought that the most important reasons for success were hard work and luck, but not ability. Observe yourself the next time a minority student receives a high grade on a test. Do you find yourself saying, "This student is really a hard worker?" Try adjusting your attributions; perhaps you should give credit to his or her natural ability.

What kinds of attributions do people make to explain *unsuccessful* performance? Now the tables are turned. For example, when a woman is unsuccessful, people tend to say that she is low in ability. In contrast, people rarely mention men's lack of ability as an explanation for an unsuccessful performance. For example, some years ago I taught psychological statistics, a course that clearly requires math ability. One day I suddenly realized that I had been making biased attributions. When a male in my class received a D or lower on a statistics test, I admonished him to try harder. I attributed his poor work to lack of effort. When a female did poorly, I concluded that the poor woman simply lacked mathematical ability.

How Stereotypes Can Influence Behavior

Now let us leave the area of how stereotypes influence perception, memory, and inferences. So far this article has emphasized *cognitive* processes, that is, what goes on in our minds with respect to stereotypes. However, the effects of stereotypes are not confined to the cerebral cortex of the onlooker--the person who is perceiving, remembering, and making inferences.

Instead, stereotypes can influence the behavior of the people who have been stereotyped, through a self-fulfilling prophecy. For example, women tend to act in a stereotypically feminine fashion when they interact with someone who appears to hold traditional views about women (Von Baeyer, Sherk, & Zanna, 1981). Women whose professors expect them to be helpless and incompetent may in fact act more helpless and incompetent in that professor's classroom. In another study, women talked on the telephone to men who had been shown a photo of an attractive woman (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977). The men were told that this photo was of the woman on the phone, but in fact it was not. During the conversation, these women began to speak in a more poised and outgoing style. They became what these men expected them to be. In contrast, consider what happened to the women who were talking to men who had been shown a photo of an unattractive woman. These women began to speak in a less poised and outgoing style.

This research should alert us to the way we fall victim to looksism. If we beam approval at the attractive students in the class, we may actually be encouraging them toward better performance. But we should beam that same approval toward students who do not match society's standards of attractiveness--toward the overweight women, the men with the bad skin complexion, and the students in wheelchairs who have various handicaps. Our cognitions influence our behaviors, and those behaviors influence our students.

Overcoming Stereotypes

How can we overcome the influence of stereotypes? The overriding principle is to try to shift the balance from top-down to bottom-up processing. That is, we need to be guided more by the data, the actual information in the stimulus, rather than by our previous expectations.

Psychologists who favor the social cognition approach urge that one of the most effective methods to reduce stereotyping is to have contact with members of a group as individuals rather than as a group. When people are in a group, their category is particularly salient, so individual contact is more helpful (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). For instance, this year I have a student with cerebral palsy. She is in a wheelchair, and it is challenging for her to perform simple motor actions such as passing a set of tests back to the next student in the row. It is also difficult to understand her speech at times. But I have tried to become acquainted with her and to find out about her. I have discovered that she is quite matter-of-fact about her handicaps and that she has a good sense of humor. Both of these facts helped to overcome my previous stereotype that people with handicaps want you to ignore their condition and are likely to be relatively humorless. Close contact encourages us to discover our commonalities and to abandon the artificial differences.

Another suggestion is to use blind evaluation whenever possible. Books on teaching urge us to grade essays without knowing the identity of the writer. This precaution is particularly important to guard against such forces as the evaluation extremity effect. Again, our judgment should be based on the words on the page rather than on the expectations in our minds.

But I also encourage you to try a second step, after blind evaluation. After you have graded a group of essays, for instance, compare the scores of people divided according to the categories you want to examine, whether it is gender, or race, or whatever. It is most likely that on any human characteristic, you will find an overlap between the scores obtained by people in those categories and a large difference *within* any one category. Relevant to this method, let me tell you an effective stereotype-reducer I saw demonstrated in the summer of 1989. As part of a musical production, students from Kiev, U.S.S.R., joined with students from Rochester, New York, to form the Peace Child Chorus. Our peace group hosted a dinner for all these students, and the director, prior to dinner, asked each student to stand up without saying a word. We

Americans were invited to judge whether each student was from the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. A slender, long-necked young woman stood silently before us, a Russian ballerina, obviously. So we all shouted, "U.S.S.R.!" And then she announced in the distinctively flat Upstate New York accent, "My name is Kathy, and I'm from Rochester, New York." A blonde teenager clad in Levis and a Malibu beach T-shirt stood up, and we all proclaimed, "U.S." Haltingly she said, "My name is Katya, and I come from Kiev." In all, I was only about 55% accurate--and chance was 50%. Classroom analogs of this demonstration would be invaluable.

Another method to attend to a person's real qualities--rather than our expectations--is to ask ourselves when we are about to make a judgment, "If this person were in another category, would I make a different evaluation?" Mentally try to change that student's gender, or race, or physical appearance. Does your evaluation change?

Sometimes, too, we need to figure out whether a generalization we make about a group is stereotyped or not. Several authors have pointed out that one effective way to make this judgment is to switch the nature of the characteristic to another dimension. For instance, it seems that we are more sensitive to race than to gender; it is worse to insult Blacks than to insult women. Consider the example of a junior high teacher in our area who sponsored a reading contest with the boys competing against the girls. (And this kind of male-female competition may well be used in some college situations, in gym class, for instance.) That kind of categorization sounds somewhat inappropriate for gender, but notice how appalling it sounds for race. "Let's have a contest, with the White students against the Blacks."

Let me summarize. The current view of stereotypes is that they are not intentionally or even subconsciously malicious. Instead, stereotyping is a normal human process--as normal as perceiving traffic lights. The good news is that stereotypes are not necessarily evil in their intent. The bad news is that they occur rather automatically and effortlessly. As a consequence, it may be difficult or even impossible to eliminate stereotypes. In the recent book *Ariadne's Thread: The Search for New Modes of Thinking* (1989), Clark writes, "No fact, no idea, no thought can ever be wholly free from cultural bias" (p. 213). She is completely correct. I would argue that stereotypes may be part of the normal cognitive process; however, with effort they can be modified.

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The Assignment-Driven Course: A Task-Specific Approach to Teaching

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"Will that be on the exam?" is perhaps the most discouraging question a teacher hears. It serves as an unwelcome reminder that most students read history, say, or physics not to plumb the depths of the human condition or to discern the hidden symmetries of nature but to pass history or physics courses. Theirs is a highly task-specific enterprise. They do not so much study *in* a discipline as they study *for* quizzes and exams. For them the course is the set of requirements they must fulfill in it.[1]

Faculty and students thus often operate at cross-purposes. We make them take introduction to literature courses, for example, so they will better appreciate the poetry they will read years hence. They read poetry to pass Intro to Lit. The "Will that be on the exam?" question nettles so because it reminds us of how far many of our students are from sharing our belief in the intrinsic or long-term worth of our joint enterprise.

We can, and should, decry our students' philistinism. But, we also need to recognize the very real importance grades have for their future careers. Admission to professional and graduate programs *can* depend upon a fraction

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of a point in a student's overall grade point average. So, how should we answer their question? We all know the glazed look that comes over students when we acknowledge that the material at hand probably won't turn up on the final. Understanding that an honest "no" short-circuits the learning process, many faculty routinely inform students that they will be held responsible for everything touched upon in class or in assigned readings. The object is not to persuade them that all course content is equally important, although, given the task-driven nature of most student work, this universal "yes" has exactly that effect. Rather, faculty wish to persuade students to stop equating the course with the exam. The wish is understandable but rarely realized.

Meanwhile the universal "yes" exacts a high pedagogical cost. Our distaste for our students' preoccupation with graded work prevents us from seizing the very considerable opportunity presented by their task-specific approach to learning. The opportunity arises from the fact that our greatest leverage as teachers lies in the kinds of assignments we make. Precisely because students study for exams, indeed for our exams, we can exercise enormous influence over what, and how well, they study. Yet we rarely take full advantage of this situation by designing our courses from our assignments outward. We do not, that is, begin by asking exactly what it is we want students to do and then choose readings and plan classes to enable them to excel in just those tasks.

Instead we seek to convert students to our own belief in learning for its own sake. This succeeds with individual students, but our evangelical efforts blind us to the possibility that we can make use of our other students' perception that the course *is* what they do in it without abandoning any of our own goals. We can, that is, design tests, quizzes, reports, and other projects that define in operational terms the overall goals of the course. Doing so entails conflating what are for faculty two quite different questions: What do we want students to know? and What do we want them to do?

This article describes how to bring the two together. It is based upon our experience in designing and revising an introductory-level survey of modern European and U.S. history, but the lessons of that experience are, we believe, transferable to other disciplines.

In important ways our approach seeks to apply the principles of "authentic" testing, which Wiggins (1989b) advocates for assessment, to the process of course design. Wiggins criticizes most current testing as unrelated to real measures of competence: "The problems are contrived, and the cues are artificial" (1989b, p. 706). Authentic tests, on the other hand, "involve students in the actual challenges, standards, and habits needed for success in the academic disciplines or in the workplace." They are "the intellectual equivalent of public 'performances.'" They therefore replicate, "within reasonable and reachable limits," the "authentic intellectual challenges facing a person in the field" (p. 706). The notion of performance is central to his argument, and to ours. It provides the only "true" way to assess learning, he holds, because it provides the only meaningful "*evidence of knowing*" (p. 705).

Students also are concerned with performance. That is what lies behind their constant questions about what they will be held responsible for on exams and papers. Faculty are frustrated by this preoccupation in large measure because they understand too well the inauthentic nature of most of the work students are asked to do. Our argument is that students are entirely right to expect genuine congruence between a course's objectives and the assignments they are asked to complete. We will argue further that it is not only practical to design courses around a set of authentic assignments that meet this student expectation, but also that such courses are more rewarding to teach.

When History Department faculty at Assumption College set about the task of reinventing the introductory survey, we began by asking what we hoped the course would help students achieve. Our answer was to enable students to see their own lives in historical perspective. We wanted them, for example, to see themselves as heirs to the rationalism of the Enlightenment and to the racism of the slave trade. This meant organizing the course as a narrative, as a coherent story, into which students could subsume their individual biographies. Thus, the first thing we wanted them to learn to do was to construct historical narratives.

Narrative is a fundamental mode of historical discourse, but most introductory courses--and most introductory textbooks--pay lip service to it at best.[2] This is due, at least in part, to the tremendous proliferation of historical knowledge during the last two generations. We have discovered many "new" histories, some political, some social, some cultural, and sought to rescue from oblivion many previously overlooked historical actors, such as women and the poor. Our old narrative--which recounted the exploits of presidents and kings--no longer suffices, even if, as the model assignment discussed below illustrates, major elements of the old narrative must remain in any new one. Unfortunately, no such comprehensive revised story has yet emerged.[3] So introductory courses and texts instead "survey" the rapidly changing historical landscape. They do not attempt to tell any unifying story. Their virtues are coverage and balanced treatment, not coherence. Their basic mode of presentation is to summarize generally accepted findings about the topic under consideration. They only occasionally relate topics to each other.[4]

We discovered that if we wanted our course to be a narrative, we--and our students--were going to have to author it ourselves. And, in very short order, we found ourselves referring to "our" story as we met to plan the course. There is, we believe, an important lesson here that extends well beyond the discipline of history. It is that we surrender control over course content as soon as we organize the syllabus around a textbook. Regaining control requires adopting a critical, even adversarial approach to texts.

What was our version of modern European and U.S. history to be about? It would have, we agreed, several related themes. One was the changing meaning of *Western* and *modern*, because we concluded that the central fact of the last half-millennium of human history has been the growing hegemony of Western ideas and practices.[5] So pervasive are Western influences that even Iranians, who have a highly developed sense of their own traditions, and who

consciously seek to reject many Western notions as contrary to the teachings of the Prophet, nonetheless find themselves dependent upon Western technology to exploit their own mineral wealth and upon Western armaments to defend themselves from their Middle Eastern rivals.

A second theme was the ongoing contest for access to participation in the public life of Western societies. Who could hold which positions? Who could vote? Who could attend which schools? Often this contest has taken the form of the previously excluded laying claim to the rights formally promised to the individual in Western society. One can see this in the claim of German peasants in 1525 that they had the same right of conscience to judge the biblical warrants of feudal obligations as Martin Luther had to assess the authority of the pope. One can see it in the paraphrase of the Declaration of Independence adopted at the first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls in 1848. One can see it in the dream of Martin Luther King and in the revolutionary manifestoes of eastern Europe in 1989-90.

The problematic nature of individual rights and the ongoing debate about who was/is entitled to function as an individual raised a third major theme for us. This is the role of individuals, the great and the anonymous, in history. How much of our history is the product of individual action, how much of impersonal forces or processes? Raising this question necessarily raises another: What is the relation between any single event and long-term historical developments? Individuals, be they ever so farseeing, can only act in the here and now. Their success in exploiting the historical moment, however, depends upon circumstances that may have been centuries in the making.

Such was to be our story. A different group of historians undoubtedly would have devised a different one, and we expect ours to change as new members of our department begin to teach the course and as older members develop new enthusiasms. What is important is not the precise themes around which we chose to organize our narrative, but that we had transformed the content of the survey into *our* story. Narrative is not necessarily the most appropriate framework in other disciplines, but the broader lesson of the need to decide exactly what we want students to be able to *do* in our fields holds for everyone who teaches.

How were we to involve our students in the telling of *our* story? We decided that we would ask them to write three extended narratives over the course of the semester, that each would deal with the central themes of the course, and that each would raise real historical problems in meaningful terms. Further, and most critically, we agreed that we would resolve questions about what readings to assign or what topics to raise in lecture by asking, How will this contribute to our students' ability to write their essays? Our course would *be* what we asked our students to *do*.

Perhaps the most useful way to discuss how designing a course from the assignments outward can work is to focus upon the questions of breadth and depth. These are among the thorniest issues teachers face; they are common

to all disciplines, and they lie at the heart of course design. They can thus serve as an authentic test of our approach.

Introductory college courses are by definition about breadth. A course in principles of economics, for example, promises to run the gamut from the main institutions of the American economy to fiscal and monetary policies, from basic theories of market activity to models of economic development and growth. In fact, to judge from catalog descriptions, it usually promises to cover much more besides. An introductory literature course seeks to acquaint students with a similarly long list of central concepts such as the forms and structural features of various genres, types of imagery, and questions of tone. In every discipline, in short, the challenge of providing broad coverage is inescapable and grows ever more daunting as knowledge explosions burst all about us.

In history surveys, breadth takes the form of studying human behavior over long stretches of time and across vast geographical expanses. So we seek the sources of the royal absolutism that reached some sort of peak in the reign of Louis XIV in France in the distant as well as in the immediate past. And we routinely contrast it with the emergence of representative government in England and North America, seeking thereby some insight into what might be distinctive about French, English, and American developments. Breadth, in short, is the very medium in which historical surveys work.

However, such courses do not live by breadth alone. The historian must delve into specific developments in enough depth to give meaning to general formulations. Obviously, the need is to set a course between the Scylla of too deep a specialization and the Charybdis of too expansive a sweep. Too much detail produces narrowness, and surveys that attempt to cover too much in too little time are thin disguises rather than true learning.

When Toynbee (1935) tackled this question, he pronounced that one should define the study of history in terms of the rise and fall of civilizations. Other lionized scholars have provided equally magisterial, but different, answers. All, however, have assumed that you cannot teach everything. You have to choose. In the practical order, our assignments are sets of such choices. The questions they ask put students on constructive notice of what they need to do to reach the course's objectives.

To paraphrase Dr. Johnson, nothing so concentrates a student's mind as the imminent--or even the eventual--prospect of handing in an assignment. Further, a well-crafted question[6] acts like the narrow edge of a wedge that broadens a student's understanding of how events and ideas interconnect, and the obligation to support their views with evidence deepens their understanding of the relation between particular facts and general issues. Using assignments as we advocate concentrates the faculty's minds as well, because we must make clear decisions, in advance, about what content students will need to be familiar with and about what skills they will need to become proficient in. We must plan the course in a new way, and in much greater detail.

Our first essay assignment asked students "to evaluate the career of either Queen Elizabeth I of England or King Henry IV of France in terms of how well her/his key decisions conformed to Machiavelli's advice in *The Prince.*" In addition to handing out this topic to students before beginning to cover the material it was based upon, we also provided them with an elaborate written rationale that grounded the question they were to address in the larger course narrative. It began with the declaration that "the first part of the course focuses upon the emergence of what we can call 'modern' characteristics in western Europe and, later, in those areas of the globe conquered and/or colonized by western European countries."

In the rationale segment of the assignment, we summarized the main themes of the first four units of course content in terms of this central issue. The first dealt with the decline of the "premodern," medieval world; the second with the Renaissance "as a central event in the birth of the modern"; the third with the Reformation, which, we argued, both continued "several Renaissance themes, particularly its critique of medieval thought and, especially, its glorification of the individual" and also revived several premodern phenomena such as an "intense religiosity." The fourth unit explicitly concerned the rise of new monarchies in England, France, and Spain. The new monarchs, we wrote, could each "have laid some claim to being a Renaissance prince; each had to wrestle with, and seek to exploit, the tumult occasioned by the Reformation." Further, "each also sought to fulfill several quite traditional, perhaps medieval, ambitions associated with kingship."

All of this is specific to our particular course. What is of general application is the notion that we owe students coherent explanations for the kinds of tasks we ask them to undertake. We should tell them why these assignments make sense by indicating how they fit into the course's contents and objectives. We should tell them enough so that they can see that the assignment is in fact authentic. We should tell them enough so that they can picture clearly exactly what they need to do if they are to succeed with it.

In this spirit, we advised students in our rationale that the "assignment is intended to help you analyze these quite complex and frequently contradictory developments by looking at how a single monarch sought to impose her/his will upon the events of the late sixteenth century. We are NOT," we emphasized, "seeking a simple summary of her/his actions. We DO want a narrative, but we want it couched in terms of Machiavelli's analysis of how princes ought to rule."

As a way of defining breadth and depth, this assignment spelled out both the key interpretive ideas the first part of the course would explore and the specific settings in which we would test those ideas. Students could not simply paraphrase textbook or other accounts of Elizabeth's or Henry's career. Instead they had to relate that career to the full sweep of our course. So too they could not succeed simply by discoursing in general terms on the rise of "modern" notions of kingship. Rather, they had to demonstrate some depth of learning and some mastery of the evidence before them.

The evidence, in addition to textbook and other secondary accounts, consisted of excerpts from *The Prince* and other historical documents such as Elizabeth's 1592 letter to her successor, James I; her 1585 speech to Parliament; several accounts of her coronation; and extended excerpts from the *Memoirs* of Henry's chief advisor, the Duke of Sully. Students completed weekly written exercises on each of these (and several other primary sources) in which they analyzed their reliability, their authors' intentions, and the ways they could be used to throw light upon our course's themes. So, from the first week, students were working with the materials that would provide the evidence for their essays.

About a week before the essays were due, we devoted a full class to a strategy session during which students discussed how they were considering approaching the assignment. For this class they had to prepare a one-page "subassignment" in which they listed the characteristics Machiavelli associated with the successful prince, the events in Elizabeth's or Henry's reign they intended to focus upon, and the primary sources they planned to use.

All of these exercises, from the short weekly papers on the primary materials to the subassignment and strategy session to the final essay, reinforced each other. Students got to practice the analytical skills they needed to make sense of specific events in terms of our course's themes. The fact that they had the essay topic in advance meant that they could see for themselves the relevance of the preliminary exercises.

In the sort of course we are describing, students always know what they are going to be held responsible for. Because they do, we have found, we can ask them to do quite demanding things. We can, to echo Wiggins, confront them with the sorts of problems practitioners in the discipline actually wrestle with themselves. We can ask them, as in this case, to work out an operational definition of *Machiavellian* and then apply it to complex decisions such as Henry IV's abjuration of his Huguenot faith or Elizabeth's refusal of the Dutch crown.

It is important to emphasize that these demands are what makes the assignment an authentic test. They are also what makes it possible for us to build the entire course around the assignments. Consider briefly the difference between this assignment and the kind of question that routinely shows up on midterm and final exams. On exams students are often asked to do the impossible, such as to "explain the significance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada" in 15 minutes of frantic writing. Students cannot delve into any of the myriad complexities on which any argument they advance must rest. Worse, they also appreciate that they are not expected to grapple with complexities. Worst of all, students may identify this sort of superficial list-making with the real work of history.

The Armada question is impossible, but it is not difficult. The student has only to recite the major developments discussed in the assigned reading or the lectures to succeed in answering it. This is because the real question is not "What was the historical significance of the defeat of the Spanish Armada?"

but "What do your textbook and/or lecture notes say about Armada?" It is a situation that echoes an old Russian joke. We pretend to ask students serious questions and they pretend to answer them.[7]

In contrast, authentic assignments carry our narrative along and define its scope. Rather than pretending to cover every topic, we let the assignments structure the parameters of the course. The alternative, to "teach" everything we could possibly stuff into the available time and then stop breathlessly at semester's end bewailing our inability to get to key events, is one we have all tried. It does not work. Worse, it leads to the complicit bad faith exemplified in the Armada question.

Throughout we have been arguing that the assignment-driven nature of our course provides opportunities to concretize such key pedagogical issues as what subject matter to cover and in what depth. It similarly expedites the processes of course review and revision.

To the extent we succeed in making our assignments authentic tests of students' ability to tell our course's story, we also succeed in measuring how well the course is meeting its objectives. To write effective papers requires students to master a good deal of content, of course, but it also necessitates their developing specifically historical ways of framing questions, assessing information, and formulating answers. Our students' successes therefore tell us where the course is going well, their shortfalls where it is not.

When we meet at the end of the semester to review and revise, we have just finished grading the last of the three sets of assignments. Because our assignments drive the course, student performance on them provides us with a very lively sense of what is and is not working. We can assess, for example, if the primary materials we have assigned are intelligible to students, or if the secondary account of some topic is (in)sufficiently detailed. As a result, we can efficiently draw up a list of what most needs doing for the next time we offer the course.

Further, the assignment-driven nature of the course forces us to take the process of review and revision more seriously than we otherwise might. Assignments, no matter how well designed, cannot be reused if we want to avoid copying by students. So, even when we are largely satisfied with major components of the course, we still have to rework them. We might be quite pleased, for example, with the way our narrative focus upon the individual in history worked, but the need to design new assignments requires us to rethink that part of the course along with the rest. This is the final lesson we drew from our experience: Courses cannot only challenge students, they can also engage the intellectual energies of the faculty.

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Footnotes

[1]See Perry, W. G., Jr. (1963). Examsmanship and the liberal arts: A study in educational epistemology. In L. Bramson (Ed.), *Examining in Harvard College: A collection of essays by members of the Harvard faculty* (pp. 125-135). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

[2]The debate over how to create a new or more effective narrative is an especially lively one. For an introduction to it, see Stone, L., (1979), The revival of narrative: Reflections on a new old history, *Past and Present, 85*, 3-24, and Bender, T., (1986), Wholes and parts: The need for synthesis in American history, *Journal of American History, 73*, 120-136. A recent survey of the textbook literature is Foster, C., and Rickert-Epstein, C., (1988), College textbooks in American history: Brickbats and bouquets, *The History Teacher, 22*, 39-48.

[3]Some advocates of the traditional narrative, Gertrude Himmelfarb most notably, reject these criticisms outright. See Himmelfarb, G., (1987), *The new history and the old*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. For a recent discussion, see the papers presented at the opening session of the 1988 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association as reprinted in AHR forum: The old history and the new, (1989), *American Historical Review, 94*, 654-698.

[4]Textbooks, for example, routinely treat the waning of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Renaissance sequentially. The first is a catalog of disaster. It includes the bubonic plague, the Hundred Years' War, a new ice age, corruption and contention in the church, and a hardening of the intellectual arteries (as scholasticism is usually presented). The second is a celebration of hope. It describes the revival of classical learning, the flowering of vernacular literature, the discovery of perspective in painting, the revival of commerce, and a new optimism about human possibilities. What texts do not explain is that both sets of developments happened contemporaneously.

[5]See Von Laue, T. H. (1987). The world revolution of westernization. *The History Teacher, 20*, 263-279.

[6]See McClymer, J. F., and Moynihan, K. J., (1977), The essay assignment as a teaching device, *The History Teacher, 10*, 359-371, for an extended discussion of the formal characteristics of a well-crafted assignment.

[7]The original version refers to wage-labor productivity and the value of Soviet currency. "We pretend to work and they pretend to pay us."

Kuh, G. D. (1991). Teaching and learning--after class.
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Teaching and Learning--After Class

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Until a few years ago, new faculty members at arguably one of the best liberal arts colleges in the country often lived in one of the numerous college-owned, white frame houses bordering the campus. These houses were attractive for several reasons. Rent was low, and faculty offices, classroom buildings, and the library were readily accessible. For some new faculty, playing fields and classroom buildings were literally in their backyards. Students and colleagues were frequently encountered while walking from home to class; faculty members dined in student residences with little disruption to their daily routine; they found it convenient to take part in campus and community social and cultural events.

Today few junior faculty live in those white houses. They live in nearby towns closer to where their spouses are employed, or where child care is available, or where the public schools are perceived to be of higher quality. At the urging of the president and trustees, the scholarly productivity and national visibility of the faculty are increasing; yet they are good, even excellent teachers. The younger faculty are not unwilling to spend time with students outside of class. Indeed, small groups of students and faculty frequently can be seen moving from the classroom or laboratory to the union

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for coffee or to a departmental lounge to continue discussions started in class. And students report that their time with faculty is of high quality and important to their learning. At the same time, out-of-class contacts between students and faculty have declined in frequency and variety. For example, faculty are less likely to dine in the residence halls during the week, because dinner is family time. It is too early to tell what impact--if any--the decrease in frequency of student contact with faculty outside of class will have on student learning at this college. Perhaps very little. Yet if this example reflects what is taking place in American higher education, we would do well to ponder the implications of the troubling, seemingly inexorable conditions that distance faculty and students from each other and reduce the opportunities for student learning out of the classroom.

The purpose of this article is to share some observations of what is done by faculty members at selected institutions to encourage students to take advantage of out-of-class learning opportunities. First, the importance of out-of-class learning to the undergraduate experience is discussed. The study on which this article is based is briefly described. Then, the role of faculty at institutions reputed to offer unusually rich out-of-class learning opportunities is discussed. The article concludes with some suggestions as to what faculty can do to enrich out-of-class learning opportunities for students.

Why Be Concerned About What Students Do and Learn Out of Class?

Students learn more when they are actively engaged in various aspects of college life. The attainment of a broad range of intellectual, personal, and social benefits--willingness to explore new ideas, to appreciate cultural diversity, to develop enlightened views on important social issues, and to become active in the civic and artistic life of one's community after college--seem to be related to the extent to which the college experience provides rich opportunities for contact with faculty members and involvement in campus activities (Astin, 1977; Bowen, 1977; Pace, 1974, 1979). Most studies of learning in college have focused on the academic aspects of the undergraduate experience: the classroom, laboratory, and library. Academic routines and the courses that students must take to earn a degree are relatively easy to document, although they do not necessarily reflect what students learn, either in or out of class. Wilson (1966) estimated that about 70% of what students learn during college is learned out of the classroom. And studies of graduates reveal that what former students remember most vividly are their experiences with peers and individual faculty members outside of class.

In *College: The Undergraduate Experience in America*, Boyer (1987) asserted that "the effectiveness of the undergraduate experience is related to the quality of campus life, a product of the time students spend on campus and the quality of their involvement in activities" (p. 180). Yet, on many campuses, few efforts are made to connect what students do out of class with classroom

goals. In fact, Boyer concluded that the out-of-class experience is taken for granted or lightly regarded as a positive educational force on many campuses. But out-of-class environments are rarely neutral with regard to student learning. Indeed, faculty members at such diverse institutions as Grinnell College, Miami University, Iowa State University, and Wichita State University recognize that the out-of-class environment can enhance or detract from the level of intellectual exchange both in and out of the classroom.

The information on which the following observations are based was collected as part of The College Experiences Study. A brief description of the study and a summary of major findings follow.

The College Experiences Study[1]

Undertaken during the 1988-89 academic year, the aim of this project was to identify institutional factors and conditions that promote student involvement in out-of-class experiences that complement the institution's educational mission. The 14 participating four-year colleges and universities were reputed to offer high quality out-of-class learning and personal development opportunities for undergraduate students.

Learning and Personal Development Through Out-of-Class Experiences

For the purposes of this study, learning was thought to be the acquisition of any knowledge or skill consistent with an institution's educational mission. Our conception of personal development included those attitudes, skills, and values that enable an individual to understand and reflect on one's thoughts and feelings; to recognize and appreciate the differences between oneself and others; to manage successfully one's personal affairs; to care for those less fortunate; to relate meaningfully with others through friendships, marriage, and civic and political entities; to determine personally and socially acceptable responses in various situations; and to be economically self-sufficient (Kuh, Krehbiel, & MacKay, 1988).

Out-of-class learning experiences include, but are not limited to, interactions with faculty after class (in the hallway, laboratory, library, residence hall, or union) as well as collaboration on research and teaching projects. Learning and personal development opportunities also exist in traditional extra- or co-curricular activities and events, such as leadership in social and institutional governing organizations and participation in recreational sports, off-campus work opportunities, internships, and public service. These latter opportunities will not be considered here; rather, I will focus on the role of faculty in encouraging student involvement in out-of-class learning opportunities.

Data Sources

Participating institutions were identified with the assistance of 48 experts drawn from higher education scholars (e.g., Alexander Astin, Zelda Gamson, Robert Pace, David Riesman), representatives of higher education associations (e.g., American Association for Higher Education, American Council on Education, Council of Independent Colleges), officers of regional accreditation associations, and selected college and university presidents. The study included large universities (Iowa State University, Miami University, Stanford University, University of California, Davis), small liberal arts colleges (Berea College, Earlham College, Grinnell College, The Evergreen State College), and urban institutions (University of Alabama-Birmingham, University of Louisville, University of North Carolina-Charlotte, Wichita State University). A women's college (Mount Holyoke College) and a historically Black college (Xavier University of Louisiana) were also studied. Information was gathered from documents, observations, and individual and group interviews with approximately 1,300 students, faculty, administrators, and others (e.g., trustees). The methods used in this study are described in more detail in Kuh et al. (1991).

Synopsis of Factors and Conditions Common to "Involving Colleges"

In order to establish a context in which to consider the out-of-class teaching role of faculty at these Involving Colleges, a brief overview is provided of the five sets of factors and conditions shared to varying degrees by the 14 institutions. The elements that make up an Involving College cannot be easily separated or isolated; indeed, the factors and conditions described below work together in different combinations and toward different goals, depending on the institutional context and mission, expectations for student and faculty behavior, and desired educational purposes and outcomes. The five categories are:

1. *A clear, coherent mission and philosophy* that communicate high but reasonable challenges for students, buttressed by ethics of care and membership (i.e., everyone is considered and expected to be a full member of the community). Involving Colleges deliberately accentuate, or minimize, interpersonal distinctions to attain the institution's mission and purposes. In addition, an Involving College tends to communicate a clear, unwavering commitment to creating a culturally pluralistic campus community.
2. *Campus environments* that use the physical setting (rural, near a city, surrounded by a metropolitan area) to educational advantage, that create a human-scale organization in which anonymity is discouraged, and that offer numerous opportunities for meaningful involvement in out-of-class activities.
3. *A complicated web of cultural artifacts* (history, myths, sagas, heroes/heroines, traditions, rites and rituals, subcultures, institution-specific language) that promotes involvement and communicates to students how the institution works and the behavior that is expected and valued.

4. *Policies and practices* that hold students responsible for their own behavior and learning; that blur the artificial boundaries between in-class and out-of-class learning opportunities; that distribute resources consistent with the institution's educational purposes; and that enable subcommunities of students to flourish, such as fraternities, ethnic theme houses, and academic theme houses.

5. *Institutional agents* (including faculty) who promote student participation in educationally purposeful out-of-class learning activities.

A more complete discussion of these factors and conditions is presented in Kuh et al. (1991). Suffice it to say that all these elements work together in context-specific ways to encourage students to take advantage of learning and personal development opportunities. This article describes the role of an important set of institutional agents--faculty--in encouraging students to participate in out-of-class learning activities.

What Faculty Do to Provide Out-of-Class Learning Opportunities

An unquestioned assumption about American higher education is that student-faculty contact outside of class is desirable (Astin, 1977; Gaff & Gaff, 1981; Wilson, Gaff, Dienst, Wood, & Bavry, 1975). Student expectations vary, however, with regard to the amount and kind of interaction they would like with faculty. For example, many students feel uncomfortable around faculty, particularly first-year, traditional-age students who lack confidence (Stage & Kuh, in press). Other students, usually upperclass members, yearn for more personal relationships with faculty members.

At one time, faculty were very influential in student life (Brubacher & Rudy, 1976). The number of faculty actively involved with students out of class was quite large. But the number is shrinking, and shrinking fast. Four factors work against faculty spending time with students after class:

1. The increasing size of institutions, allowing more students and faculty members to be anonymous, a condition that rarely promotes learning.

2. The growing institutional status attainment phenomenon, that is, institutions aspiring to become research universities or colleges.

3. The changing nature of the professorial role, marked by enhanced expectations for faculty research and scholarly productivity (Bowen & Schuster, 1986).

4. Personal circumstances of faculty members; for example, many junior faculty are in dual-career relationships, a situation that sometimes compels faculty to live some distance from the campus to increase job prospects for the other person and to reduce commuting time for both.

Have I overstated the point that some years ago faculty were more influential in how students used their time outside the classroom or laboratory? I think not. Changes in the professoriate and institutional aspirations have altered the role of faculty in students' out-of-class lives in

ways that undercut the value of undergraduate teaching. Yet there are some institutions where students take advantage of out-of-class learning opportunities. What is the role of faculty on campuses known to provide high quality out-of-class experiences for students? Before answering this question, a caveat is warranted.

A college or university faculty is not monolithic. Attempts to characterize faculty behavior are certain to be inadequate, perhaps even simplistic. For example, the mission of an institution influences how faculty spend their time. With this caveat in mind, four themes emerged from an investigation of Involving Colleges:

1. Student-faculty interaction out of class, when it occurs, usually is related to academic activities and concerns.
2. Two faculty cultures exist as far as out-of-class life is concerned: those who are committed to involvement with undergraduates (student-centered faculty) and those who are not.
3. Faculty roles, expectations, and priorities are changing in ways that discourage involvement with students after class.
4. Faculty are *perceived* by students and others to be available and interested in students, particularly with regard to students' intellectual development and academic progress.

Taken together, these themes offer some insights into the role of faculty in promoting out-of-class learning. Each of these themes will be briefly discussed.

Out-of-Class Learning as a Product of Purposeful Engagement

Faculty contributions to student learning out of class may best be seen as occurring *after class* through extending points made during class discussions. Thinking about these contacts as *after* class emphasizes the temporal connection between discussions emanating or carrying over from class or laboratory. Of course, these contacts sometimes evolve into conversations about personal or career concerns and issues. But personal matters usually do not dominate out-of-class discussions, particularly if a student's intellectual development is the faculty member's goal (Pascarella, 1980). During these after-class contacts, course material is often related to "real world" matters such as what students are learning through their work, cooperative education, and internships.

To encourage informal after-class interactions among students and between students and faculty members, some colleges have made certain there are places--benches, clusters of chairs in the hallways of classroom buildings, departmental lounges--where faculty and students can retire after class to carry on discussions without having to traipse across the campus or arrange a separate appointment. At Grinnell, the union, called The Forum, is at the campus crossroads and offers a cup of coffee for 16 cents. Similarly, the University of Louisville has created small dining areas in several academic buildings where faculty and students can spend time after class. In other

words, places are available to extend after-class conversations without losing the *teachable moments* that are created during class discussions.

Most out-of-class contacts are initiated by students. Sometimes faculty initiate contacts that occasionally evolve into a mentoring or sponsoring relationship with undergraduate scholars who have potential to become faculty members. Sponsorship of the next generation of academics is an important consideration, given the number of faculty expected to retire in the next decade or so. Carol Cartwright, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the University of California, Davis at the time this study was conducted (she is now president of Kent State University), believes that to attract able undergraduates to the professoriate, students must find out more about how faculty live, how they spend their free time, and what they enjoy most about their work. These insights are difficult for students to generate based on exposure to faculty members only in the classroom.

Sometimes contact with faculty outside the classroom takes the form of collaboration in research, or teaching assistantships. Consider one student's assessment of the benefits of collaborative research with a faculty member:

> I got to work six months with a very well known philosopher on my honors thesis, spending one-on-one time with this man who had devoted his whole life to the philosophical ideas I had been thinking about. To have him listen to my ideas and to take them seriously or criticize them, it really helped my confidence . . . . Here this great philosopher was respecting what I had to say.

An indirect but positive outcome from contacts with students is that a faculty member is reminded how busy students are; much (but certainly not all) of a student's out-of-class time is devoted to worthwhile, productive activities. Faculty also learn from undergraduate teaching assistants what works in class and how to design exams that get students to apply and integrate material.

Two Faculty Cultures

Academic cultures are complicated and continuously evolving. There are many layers of culture: the professoriate as a profession, the campus, the discipline, subgroups within disciplines, student cultures, and so on (Clark, 1989; Kuh & Whitt, 1988). The two faculty cultures mentioned above are obviously gross categories; separating faculty into two groups admittedly simplifies a very complicated aspect of academic life, and I do so only for discussion purposes.

The members of the first faculty culture mentioned earlier, student-centered faculty, are people who are committed to involvement with undergraduates. People in this group tend to be older, tenured faculty appointed at a time when teaching and the undergraduate experience were more important. The other group is not heavily involved with students out of class and consists of cosmopolitan scholars (Clark, 1963) and younger faculty

who were socialized in graduate school to aspire to become cosmopolitan scholars.

The terms *loyalist*, *"studentista,"* and *dinosaur* were used to describe student-centered faculty members, a shrinking number of people whose primary commitment is to the institution and to the welfare of students. These are the faculty who advise student organizations, who dine on occasion with students in their residences or the union, who agree to serve on student life (and other campus) committees, who sometimes attend intercollegiate (and occasionally participate in intramural) athletic events, or who appear at student social events. In addition, many studentistas are articulate spokespersons for the importance of maintaining a campus climate conducive to teaching and learning, both in and out of class.

Although the behavior of faculty in the two cultures differ, members of both groups at Involving Colleges share, to varying degrees, some assumptions about students and learning. The first assumption is that all students can learn. A corollary assumption is that all students can learn anything, provided they are interested and motivated and devote effort. For these faculty members, educational Darwinism (survival of the fittest or best prepared) is not the guiding philosophy. Students are appreciated for what they bring to the institution; they are not perceived as a drain on institutional resources or as an unwelcome diversion of faculty attention from research and scholarly activity. This assumption permeates the institution and sometimes takes the form of an ethic of membership which goes something like this: Because you have chosen us, and we have chosen you, we will do everything we can to help you succeed. This is your place now, your home. You belong here and you are, by the very act of choosing us, a full member of the community.

The ethic of membership is not formal or often discussed. Indeed, it is taken for granted. Students are told that they are expected and able to succeed; what counts is their current performance, not what they have done in the past, nor who their parents are, nor where they came from. Distinctions such as teacher-pupil or expert-novice are ignored at some institutions such as Earlham College and The Evergreen State College. At these institutions, formal titles such as Doctor, President, or Professor are perceived to make people seem more different than they really are and, in the process, to denigrate the worth of someone. Diminution of status differences is believed to encourage collaboration in discovery and shared responsibility for teaching and learning (Johnson & Johnson, 1975). At Evergreen, faculty members often are referred to as "senior learners," and students are "junior learners," signifying that all participate in and benefit from the learning process equally.

At other institutions, the characteristics of students, such as need for support and encouragement to be successful, are a rationale for creating distinctions between teachers and learners. For example, at Xavier, developing a strong self-concept is a prerequisite to learning what one can become; distinctions enhance self-esteem and help students achieve their goals. Xavier students, faculty, and administrators go to great lengths to appear and feel confident, successful, and goal-directed--all the things that

Black students have not felt in predominantly White institutions of higher education. Xavier students and faculty call one another by their last names and titles as a sign of respect, which is important role modeling for students. Moreover, at both Evergreen and Xavier, and at other Involving Colleges, faculty members send a clear message to students: You are here because we believe you can succeed. Students are recognized as full and equal partners in the intellectual and social life of the community.

Faculty members at Involving Colleges recognize that students are not immune from the manifold hazards and difficulties systemic to everyday life (Prins, 1983). They offer assistance to a student who gets sick; who has a parent, spouse, child, or friend who is ill or in trouble; or who may be encountering difficulty managing the stress that often accompanies the life of a student. When widely shared among faculty and other staff, this concern and appreciation for students becomes an ethic of care often manifested through "invisible safety nets." An invisible safety net is an informal network of faculty, staff, and students that has developed over time to "catch" students who fall into trouble. For example, Wichita State University, like many other urban universities, attracts a substantial proportion of at-risk students, many of whom are first-generation college students whose parents know little about the collegiate experience. Many Wichita State senior faculty members comprise one of the webs of this invisible safety net. They notice students who are having trouble and know to whom to refer students when problems arise.

Changing Faculty Roles and Institutional Expectations

Faculty roles and priorities are being altered by institutional reward systems and expectations in ways that discourage involvement with students after class. Junior faculty at many institutions receive fairly clear messages about how much time--if any--to spend with students. In the words of one department chair, "The ante has been upped considerably . . . for promotion and tenure." Indeed, when young faculty "hang out" with students, they often get negative feedback from colleagues and department chairs. Another department chair said, "In my department, we tell non-tenured faculty, 'You should be spending more time writing and publishing.' Others have heard the message and are cranking out publications." This tension has existed for some time but has intensified in the past decade.

The more time faculty devote to research, the less time they are available for consultation with students, advisees, and colleagues. As a consequence, a decreasing amount of faculty time is spent with undergraduate students and in university service, the direct avenues to maintaining a sense of campus community and connecting with students out of the classroom.

Many junior faculty have read the institutional reward systems just right, for at few schools--including some of the small liberal arts colleges in this study--did involvement with students in out-of-class activities have a major bearing on annual reviews or promotion and tenure. Even faculty members at

urban institutions are being pushed to increase their research and grant-writing activities.

Moreover, young faculty members assume some professional risks when working at colleges where undergraduate teaching is the priority. Because teaching and involvement in the college community are emphasized over research, young faculty members have relatively little time to devote to scholarship and research. Although this behavior is consistent with the institutional mission and encourages more interaction between students and faculty, the risk for young faculty is to postpone the start of a program of scholarship and research and a publication list. In the event that a faculty member is not awarded tenure, or must seek an appointment at another institution for whatever reason, his or her curriculum vitae may not be competitive with that of peers who have worked at institutions where research has been encouraged and perhaps even supported with grants and reduced teaching loads.

In the present era of a narrow, often suffocating focus on research championed by the research universities, one might speculate that it would be difficult to find and recruit faculty who are willing to invest themselves fully in careers of teaching. In many instances, when student-centered faculty members retire or leave, they are replaced by younger faculty who have been socialized in graduate school to a model of faculty behavior that emphasizes research and scholarship first, followed by good teaching. However, the teaching colleges--Berea, Earlham, Grinnell, The Evergreen State College, Xavier--continue to be successful in attracting faculty who are willing to invest themselves in their students and the institutional mission.

A college or university faculty comprised of student-centered faculty members is not realistic in the context of the times and changing missions of institutions of higher education. But the aspiration to put engaging, *learning-centered* faculty members into the undergraduate classroom seems reasonable. These are faculty members who seek learning companions and transfer their infectious intellectual inquisitiveness to students. They create a sense of wonder and excitement in students, viewing them as learning companions instead of vessels to be filled (Cross, 1976). They challenge students to take full advantage of the institution's resources--the library, the social and cultural events. They augment the course textbook with additional material resources for learning. They also have high expectations for student performance and challenge students to discover and use their intellectual powers to fullest advantage.

Learning-centered faculty members recognize that for most students, knowledge must be applied to be useful and relevant. Hence, learning-centered faculty ask students to apply what is discussed in class to other areas of their lives, a practice that promotes integration of knowledge with students' out-of-class lives. For many students, personalizing knowledge requires concrete experiences that allow them to connect new information and insights with their present level of understanding. Of course, just as abstract conceptualization is not a preferred learning style for everyone, neither is

concrete experience. At Earlham, the Quaker values that guide teaching and learning and other aspects of campus life are contained in the expression, "let your lives speak." Quakers traditionally have been skeptical of learning for its own sake. Thus, knowledge is not only to be appreciated, but more important, to be acted upon. So Earlham students must not only read about the causes of illiteracy, for example, but they also are compelled to get involved in the solution to the problem through community-based service activities such as tutoring illiterate adults.

Faculty Are (or Are Perceived to Be) Interested and Available

Students at Involving Colleges *perceive* faculty to be available and involved with them, particularly in the academic arena. Those students who develop relationships with faculty out of class usually have taken the initiative to do so. This is a matter of perception; the amount of student contact with faculty may or may not be more frequent at some institutions, but the perception is that faculty care and are interested, responsive, and available. For example, according to Larry Vanderhoef, the Executive Vice Chancellor at the University of California, Davis, it may be a myth that faculty care more about students at his institution than at some other universities. Nevertheless, many faculty members believe it, and students believe it also. These strong beliefs may also prompt different behaviors on the part of both students and faculty. In the words of Xavier students, "Faculty care about us," "Professors take time for us," "[Faculty] believe in you." In some cases, the institutional mission determines how faculty are expected to behave. At Berea College, for example, where Christian service is the institutional mission, faculty members are acutely aware of students' problems, such as relatives who have black lung disease, that threaten the success of their students.

At many institutions, programs and policies have been developed to encourage faculty to spend time with students beyond the classroom. At Stanford, for example, 31 of the 37 Resident Fellows (RFs) are faculty members. Resident Fellows reported that the RF experience has made them better teachers; they involve students in research projects and teaching assignments and solicit student opinions about classroom teaching strategies. As RFs invite their colleagues to their home (dorm) for dinner, more faculty meet and become involved with students out of class. Students become more interested in independent study options as a result of meeting with faculty in the dorms. It is worth noting that the tenure rate for RFs is comparable to their counterparts who have not been RFs.

The debate at Stanford about Western core readings and racism extends to houses and dorms where, through formal programs and spontaneous discussion following dinner, students are encouraged by RFs and resident assistants to debate such matters. Students and faculty members at Mount Holyoke take advantage of postdinner conversation to discuss issues related to cultural pluralism, racism, and heterosexism. In part because of faculty

involvement with students outside of class, these institutions are hotbeds of intellectual and social-emotional introspection.

Such programs are more or less effective. More important concerning faculty involvement with students is whether a culture of involvement exists, fueled by history and traditions. For example, at Iowa State, departmental clubs are very active; they "rush" new members with the same enthusiasm as fraternities and sororities. Every departmental club has one or more faculty advisors. One person observed, "We don't have to beg for faculty advisors at Iowa State." Department chairs and academic deans take part in new student orientation activities. Thus, powerful mutual shaping occurs as institutional history and traditions and other cultural artifacts influence how students, faculty, and administrators perceive and relate to one another.

Virtually all of the students with whom we spoke were *very* grateful for the time faculty members spend with them outside the classroom. And student interaction with faculty out of class usually has a salutary effect. When students encounter faculty members out of class, such as attending a faculty member's presentation in one of the residence halls or interacting with a faculty member in the role of advisor to an organization, students often come to know faculty members for the first time as multidimensional human beings, not as detached scholars atop pedestals. The latter impression sometimes creates unnecessary distance between students and faculty. In the words of a faculty member at Miami University, "When students run into a faculty member in sweats or shopping at Kroger's, it changes the student's experience at the University." Another faculty member who regularly exercises two large, playful dogs on the campus said that "the animals are a vehicle to discussions about something else--politics, whatever," which can then be connected to other matters of an intellectual or critical thinking nature. Students sometimes become interested in the faculty member's area of expertise and may be motivated to take one or more of his or her classes. A Stanford student told us:

> I met a new professor [in a social setting] and he asked me if I was going to take his class in Political Science. I took it . . . it was amazing . . . . I thought Poli Sci was something I would never be interested in because I could never stand the idea that I would have to read so much. But I actually became very intellectually motivated.

Holding Up the Mirror

One approach faculty members can use to determine whether they are using out-of-class time with students in educationally relevant ways is to do a self-assessment of the amount of time and the types of interactions that characterize their out-of-class contacts with students. The following suggestions are a place to start in determining how to foster student learning out of the classroom.

1. Know your students, how they learn, and the conditions that affect their learning. In many institutions, students' aspirations, backgrounds, abilities, and roles, such as student, spouse, parent, or worker, have changed dramatically from those of past students, even the recent past. The ways in which faculty work with and respond to their students must also change, but they can do so effectively only if they know and understand the changes. Examine reports of institutional research to determine whether your assumptions about and expectations for students are consistent with student characteristics and needs. Assumptions that are no longer accurate may not necessarily mean that expectations for student performance should change. However, a change in teaching strategies may be necessary. Indeed, as we shall see shortly, it is important that students are held to high expectations.

The institutional research office or the student affairs division are likely sources for data about students. Of course, the best source of information about students is the students themselves; any effort on the part of a faculty member to learn more about students may not need to go beyond the classroom. Be cautious, however, about making generalizations from composite information about student characteristics, or anecdotal information, to individual situations. Every student is unique, with unique needs, interests, capabilities, and priorities.

2. Ask students to work smart as well as long and hard. Learning occurs most effectively when students are challenged to reach high, but reasonable, educational goals in an environment in which students are understood and appreciated and where the risks inherent in meeting such challenges are manageable. Use course assignments to encourage students to extend their understanding beyond the primary text and lectures. Require students to use campus learning resources--the library (ask them to find something in the library collection pertinent to the class), the museum, the theater, convocations, special lectures (work them into class requirements). Do not let students' comments about high expectations deter you from setting high standards for their performance.

3. Model the way you want students to think and behave both in and out of class. Talk about your experiences and your reactions to convocations and invited speakers, and ask students to talk about what they have learned from these events. When a class session has been especially stimulating, express your appreciation to your students. On some campuses, students are too docile or polite to engage faculty in debates or lively discussions about class material. One faculty member told the story about a particularly stimulating class session during which one of her students asked some challenging questions about the material. Several other students approached the faculty member after class to apologize for their peer's "inexcusable, rude behavior"! Of course, many students are uncomfortable speaking in class and need to feel trust and support from the instructor and their peers before they will take intellectual or personal risks in class.

4. Focus on intellectual matters when talking with students out of class. Relate class material to students' lives and the pressing social issues of our times.

While some relaxed conversation may be necessary to develop rapport and trust, student learning seems to be enhanced when faculty members engage students intellectually and relate in- and out-of-class experiences to the mission and educational purposes of the institution.

5. *Select one or two students a year to sponsor for academic careers.* Identifying students with the potential to become faculty members has several advantages for both the student and the sponsor. First, the sponsor will have a hand in maintaining the vibrancy of his or her discipline by recruiting new members during a period of massive retirements. Second, by reaching out to young potential scholars, the sponsor establishes a collaborative tone among faculty and students that can have a positive effect on one's colleagues and the quality of student life out of the classroom. Protégés will likely model this approach to sponsorship when they, in turn, teach undergraduates. Be particularly sensitive to the personal, as well as academic and intellectual, characteristics of students whom you select to sponsor. For example, be willing to mentor students whose race, sex, or ethnic background differs from your own.

6. *Challenge the ethos that encourages faculty and students to detach themselves from meaningful contact with each other.* The amount of attention faculty members devote to student learning and the quality of campus life is a function of the importance they and their institutions place on those issues. Of course, merely asserting that out-of-class learning is important does not make it so; actions must accompany words. Concern for and commitment to students' learning and the quality of their lives should be evident in the words and deeds of faculty members and others, from everyday encounters to long-range plans.

On some campuses, however, students and faculty have struck an implicit bargain that says, in effect, "You leave me alone and I will leave you alone." For faculty, this "disengagement compact" has been encouraged by reward systems that favor research over teaching, by the increasing size of institutions, and by the status attainment phenomenon whereby teaching institutions attempt to become more like research universities. The student side of the bargain is motivated by the fact that, for too many students, a meaningful college experience does not include development of the intellect or interaction with faculty. This attitude seems to be exacerbated by a tendency on the part of students to view and use college primarily as job training. In addition, many students hold one or more jobs while in school. To get the attention of students, faculty have to be willing to work against the prevailing campus norms and to reject the disengagement compact. Of course, taking such a risk would be a lot easier if institutional reward systems would support such behavior.

Conclusion

Educational renewal initiatives in the 1980s emphasized the curriculum, including some perennial issues such as what constitutes general education

and how learning during college can be assessed (Ewell, 1985). Renewal efforts must also consider the quality and frequency of student contacts with faculty. Indeed, "everything that happens on a campus has curricular implications" (Gaff, 1989, p. 14). For example, throughout this paper illustrations can be found of the importance of the small gesture to creating conditions that promote learning. The small gesture is an expression of interest in a student's welfare, the comment in the margin of an essay acknowledging a salient point, a word after class, the note written in longhand to a student who has attained a personal milestone. These are often more influential and remembered longer by students than most of us imagine. At a time when the sense of community seems to be unraveling on college campuses, we would do well to remember that a community is made up of thousands of small gestures that keep people together and communicate feelings of belonging.

Most colleges and universities are organized to present students with discrete experiences. Different people, at different points in time and in different places (and sometimes with completely different philosophies about the purposes of the undergraduate experience), orient new students, offer advice and counsel, teach classes and labs, get students registered, provide medical care, teach job-hunting skills, provide places to live and food to eat, impose degree requirements, and help organize dances and parties. The fragmentation of universities as organizations is reflected in perceptions of student life: In-class and out-of-class learning are too often treated as separate aspects of the undergraduate experience. Shifting reward systems encourage faculty members to isolate themselves from students, thus enhancing the attitude that academic and nonacademic aspects of students' lives are, and should be, distinct.

Students, on the other hand, do not think of their lives as bifurcated by the classroom door. For students, college is a stream of learning opportunities: challenges, relationships, discoveries, fun, disappointments, and successes. *Where* learning opportunities are encountered is, for the most part, irrelevant; what is important is that students learn. Just as the institution seeks to help students make sense of courses within a major, students yearn to interpret and make sense of all their experiences.

Learning-centered faculty members are aware of the seamlessness of student experience and of the harvest of learning that awaits students from *all* aspects of college life. By envisioning what the total student experience ought to be, and resolving to use the institution's educational resources--curricular and noncurricular, formal and informal--to full advantage to enable that experience, faculty ignore the perceived, artificial distinctions between what is academic and what is educational and between what are in-class and out-of-class learning experiences. More important, student learning is enriched.

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Footnotes

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Love in the Classroom

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This epistolary paper was first presented at the Ninth Annual Lilly Conference on College Teaching at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, November 12, 1989. We have made a few small revisions for this written version. At the end is an edited transcript of the discussion that followed our oral presentation.

Pete: This session began exactly one year ago, when Rosie and I happened to sit together on the van ride back to the airport after the Eighth Annual Lilly Conference. I told her I had enjoyed her talk on feminist pedagogy, and she told me she had enjoyed mine on teaching in China. We chatted on about a few things, and then I popped the question. I said that for some time I had wanted to do a Lilly Conference presentation on love in the classroom, because I wanted to learn something about it.

I said that many conference programs were on things like assessment, and testing, and the relative merits of the lecture method and the discussion method, and the function of grades, and how to train teaching assistants, and the use of videotaping in faculty development, and how to motivate students, and how to revise the curriculum. Those were all good and interesting topics, I said, but I was interested in an aspect of teaching that no one measures, and

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Peter Beidler *teaches English at Lehigh University, where he is notorious for innovative teaching experiments. One year, for example, he and some of his literature students bought, renovated, and then sold a house near the campus as part of a class project in self-reliance. In 1983 he was named CASE (Council for the Advancement and Support of Education) Professor of the Year. He has published widely in various literary fields (Chaucer, American literature), as well as on teaching. His book,* Distinguished Teachers on Effective Teaching, *was published by Jossey-Bass in 1986.*

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almost no one ever talks about. I had never seen a presentation on the emotional connections that can take place between professors and students. I wanted it to be a collaborative presentation. What business did I, a middle-aged male professor, have in talking about this subject alone? Rosie, I said, seemed a natural collaborator. She was a woman who knew something about feminism, who had published on sexual harassment, and who taught ethics. Would she, I asked, be interested in doing a collaborative presentation on love in the classroom?

Rosie: I asked him a few questions about what he had in mind, and then said "yes." We talked some more on the way to the airport and decided to write our presentation as an epistolary session. We decided, that is, to write a series of letters to each other about the role of love in college teaching. In these letters we would chat about our topic and see where our letters led us. The only serious rules we established were that we would be frank and honest, that we would write no more than a page each time, and that we would respond to each other's letters within a week of the day we got them.

Pete: After we wrote enough letters to say most of what we wanted to say about love in the classroom, we did some editing, breaking up the longer letters with shorter, interspersed comments from the other.

Rosie: We found that writing an epistolary conference presentation was fun. We both quickly found that our professional obligations caused us to miss some of our one-week deadlines, but who cared? We both had something to watch the mails for, and we both found that we had plenty to say.

Pete: As a writing teacher, I might suggest that this kind of writing was fun in part because we were writing not merely for the unknown audience we would be addressing later, but for each other. It is always easier to write for a specific and real audience than for a general one. Also, all writing teachers know that writing is discovering, and we were both writing because we wanted to discover about love in the classroom. Well, let's start. I wrote the first letter.

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Pete: I suppose that we must first try to agree on what we mean by love in the classroom. What I mean is that special feeling that develops between teachers and students in classrooms where real learning is taking place. I think every caring teacher knows what I am talking about. Is there a single one of us who did not, on the way to becoming a teacher, fall in love with some teacher we had? Is there a single one of us who has not, in one sense or another, fallen in love with one or more of our students, and had one or more of our students fall in love with us?

We all know about such love, but we seem never to talk about it. What I want to do with you, Rosie, is talk about it. I suppose we must start with a definition of what "it"--this love--is. I am not talking just about love of

learning, or love of a subject, though those are of course often involved. I am talking, quite frankly, about the love that can grow between students and their teachers. Is such love to be encouraged? Should we teach and behave in such a way that we encourage feelings of love in our students? Is that ethical? Surely that love is not always a bad thing, but just as surely it can cease being a good thing very quickly. How do we, as caring teachers, develop and harness that love and put it to good pedagogical use--both for our students and for ourselves?

Am I making any sense at all?

Rosie: Of course you are. I have loved many of my teachers--some of them women, others of them men.

Pete: Good. I have too. But it is interesting that in my case I would not have thought of calling it love unless the person I had these special feelings for was a woman. Although the two teachers who influenced me the most were men, I would not have used the word *love* to describe my feelings for them. I would have called it respect or admiration or honor. I have many fine male students, but, again, I would hesitate to call my feelings for them love. I would call that, again, respect or admiration, or perhaps something like "recognizing potential." I guess this means that I am pretty sexist, or something. Perhaps it is just that with these men there was no emotional risk on my part. With women, there is. With certain women, especially, I risk falling in love, and having them fall in love.

Let me, in any case, make one thing clear: I think it is wrong--utterly immoral--for any teacher to engage in overt sexual or courtship activities with any of his or her students. Can we begin by agreeing that we consider such contact between teachers and students to be wrong, period?

Rosie: I agree. Sexual harassment and sexual exploitation are always wrong, and sexual relationships between teachers and students, even when they are not of a harassing or exploitative nature, are always suspect. But I married my grad school professor. Although our relationship started out as a legitimate student-teacher relationship, after the semester was over it became a full-blown romance. Am I to think that there was something wrong about our having fallen in love?

Pete: Goodness. We are just getting started on this subject, and already we are getting more personal than either of us probably thought we would need to. Was it love gone wrong? Only you can answer that, of course. But I am sure we both know of many "love-gone-right" marriages where one of the partners had been the teacher of the other. I guess most such marriages began with that risky kind of love in the classroom that I am talking about. I suppose no one can have any objections when such relationships develop after the official classroom student-teacher relationship is over.

I cannot imagine, however, that it is *ever* a good idea for a teacher and a student to date during the time that they are still each other's teacher and student. There is just too much potential there for harassment and

exploitation and . . . well, confusion--emotional and intellectual confusion. What happens a year or two later is another matter. Then it is no longer love in the classroom, in any case.

Rosie: I agree. Even with the best of intentions there is something fundamentally worrisome about teachers and students dating. But does that include going to the snack bar for a soda or coffee with one of your students?

Pete: Gosh, I hope not. I do that frequently. What I really want to talk about mostly is that risky love that sometimes happens in the classroom, as two people start to feel drawn to one another. I guess it is partly a question of definition. The love I am talking about involves this thing I call *risk*--the potential that it could go wrong, or be damaging to either the teacher or the student.

Rosie: I loved my metaphysics teacher. What I mean when I say that is that she inspired me not only to think critically but also to want to be a better person. When she spoke of matter and form, potentiality and actuality, in Aristotle, I felt as if she were sharing some special knowledge about human beings in general and about me in particular. In other words, she made me want to actualize my potential. When she lectured, I'd nod my head in agreement. Every once in a while her eyes would catch mine and we'd exchange smiles no one else seemed to notice.

Nowadays, I immediately pick out the "nodders" in my classes. To be sure, some of them are nodding not because they understand what I am saying but because they don't want me to know how hopelessly lost they are. But most of my nodders are getting the message. I can tell when my eyes catch theirs. We exchange a smile.

Pete: I always thought of the nodders in my classes as the ones who were about to fall asleep!

Rosie: One of the first students I ever loved was Stephanie V. Unlike most Williams students, she lived off campus, cooked Hungarian goulash, and read books that weren't assigned on the syllabus. I loved Stephanie because she made me feel as if I had chosen the right path when I decided to become a teacher. I think she loved me because I confirmed her in her desire to be different. Love, after all, is a matter of mutual affirmation.

Pete: Love as mutual affirmation. I rather like that. Come to think of it, that is one of the best definitions of love I have heard. Certainly it is better than the smirking, cynical one that was sneaking around the halls of my undergraduate college when I was the age of most of my current students: "Love is two pieces of meat rubbing together"!

But you are right, of course. Love is largely a matter of affirmation. Romantic lovers affirm each other in lots of ways. Saying "I love you" to someone is really a way of saying, "I approve of just about everything about you: your values, your sense of humor, your ideas, the way you dress, your way of phrasing your ideas, your friends, your independence, and the way

you seem to occupy a permanent corner of my mind, even when I am thinking about something else."

We all need such affirmation, and it is difficult not to fall in love with someone who gives it to us. Perhaps that is where the risk comes in for us teachers. As teachers we do need to tell our students, at least our very best ones, that they are terrific. Whenever we give them that kind of affirmation, we run the risk of having them fall in love with us, and, when they affirm us by letting us know that they think we are good teachers, we risk falling in love also.

Should we take such risks with our students? Surely it is good to encourage or to affirm our best students. But is there not also a potential for harm there, for both parties?

Rosie: Love *is* risky business. Affirmation can mutate into control. I once knew a professor who would each year select a particularly bright student to serve as his teaching assistant. He would affirm this student in all sorts of ways: special dinners at his home, short vacations with his family, extended discussions of books they had both read, trips to the American Philosophical Association conventions, unusually long comments on submitted papers, glowing letters of recommendation.

Sometimes the student did not recognize himself to be as good as this professor said he was. Lacking self-confidence, the student would attempt to measure up to what he thought the professor's image of him was. Usually things worked out, but not always. More than one or two of this professor's students lost all sense of their own identity in their effort to live up to what they perceived his expectations to be for them.

What went wrong? I think the professor emitted the wrong signals. Somewhere along the line, the professor's students got the impression that he liked or loved them to the degree that they emulated him. But this is narcissism.

When I love students, I try to love them not because they resemble me, but because of who they are. What I want to do is affirm *their* potential--who *they* can be. I don't want to attach any strings to the students I love. All I want them to see is the good that I see in them.

Pete: But seeing good in people, and affirming that good, can be dangerous, or at least tricky. It is my experience that the trickiness almost always involves male professors, but that may just be because I notice them more, or understand more the dangerous games some of us may be playing. We men seem to have a particular need to have a following, to be admired, to be told that we are smart, to have evidence that we have mattered.

I am familiar with one professor who forms strong bonds with his students--particularly his women students. That bonding often takes the form of smiles, touching a shoulder, looking into eyes, and lots of sincere questions. It is all very innocent, I suppose, and I do not *know* that anyone has been hurt by that kind of attention from this professor. It may be that college women are "on to" such actions, or at least can instinctively tell when

there is insincerity or danger. This professor is a kind and caring man, but kind and caring men in their 40s and 50s--or any other age, I suppose--may not be fully in control of their own emotions, may not be sensitive to the danger they may draw younger people into. They . . . I mean we . . . may not quite understand our own motives, or may not understand the kind of power that a charming male teacher might have over a younger woman student.

Maybe I am being too cautious. I guess I just don't want to be misunderstood. Of course, love is a many-splendored thing, and love in the classroom, since it involves good things like truth and knowledge and confidence and affirmation and encouragement, is even more many-splendored. But it is tricky.

Rosie: You seem to be circling around something, Pete. Do you want to tell me about some experience you have had, some tricky experience you have had?

Pete: Perhaps I should. Some 10 or so years ago one of my former undergraduate students--let me call her Patricia--came back to see me at Lehigh. I remembered her more than I remembered most students, if only because I had written seven individualized letters of recommendation for her for law school. This was back in the days before word processors made such letters easy. And we had corresponded once or twice a year since she graduated from Lehigh.

Anyhow, one day Patricia came to my office. We covered the usual "how-are-things-going" drivel--you know, how was life for her as a rookie lawyer, how were my kids, and so on--then went out for a cup of coffee. I noticed that she looked nervous whenever we got to the end of a topic of conversation: graduating from law school, the new job, paying off college debts, the twin sister who was also a lawyer, the used car. I asked what was troubling her. She avoided my eyes, then finally said there was something she wanted to tell me, but did not know if she should.

I encouraged her. "We are friends," I said, "aren't we? You can tell me." I don't know what I expected, maybe that she had cancer, or had failed her bar exam. It was neither of those.

"I have been in love with you for the last five years," she finally said. "I don't expect anything," she went on, quickly, "but I just thought you should know."

That scared me. Did her love mean I was doing something right or something wrong?

Rosie: I knew that you would ask me a *hard* question sooner or later. It turned out to be sooner. What you were doing--expressing interest, being helpful, showing support, mentoring--was right. But it was misinterpreted by your Patricia. Perhaps her home environment or personal experience was such that the people she encountered were particularly restrained, unemotional, guarded, unrevealing, aloof. If so, any warmth you displayed to her must

have seemed so special, so wondrous. The fact that she waited until long after she graduated to tell you of her feelings tends to confirm my analysis: She came from a background that discouraged the articulation of feelings.

Pete: Perhaps so. I don't know about that. I find it difficult to assess reasons, being so close to the situation. I assumed, and still assume, that she was mostly being realistic. She knew this love could never be, at least not in *that* way, so she shut up about it all that time. I have felt such feelings, such yearnings, myself, and--as a married man with four children--have shut up about it.

But I do try, as a teacher, to be--well, let's be honest--the kind of person that someone *might* fall in love with. I try to be caring and clever and concerned and sympathetic and to share the excitement of learning. Did I do wrong? Should I have done something to prevent this misunderstanding?

Rosie: Was it a *total* misunderstanding? I mean, were you *totally* surprised? You don't have to answer that.

Pete: Let me try. No, I guess I was not *totally* surprised by Patricia's admission, and I guess she was smart enough to realize that I would not be.

Rosie: As for what you could have done to prevent it, I am not sure. A more interesting question is whether you really should have wanted to. Let me try to answer a third question: What could you do to prevent all such misunderstandings in the future?

Well, I suppose you could keep your eyes down, speak in a monotone to everyone, clench your lips tight, never smile, never extend an arm in comfort, never talk anything but business with your female students. Perhaps we could embalm you or pickle you or drain you of all life forces. Then no one would be attracted to you. You would be beyond reproach: no longer a man, but an angel.

Pete: A boring angel. Thanks, but no thanks. There are enough embalmed teachers, drained of their life forces. I never want to be that kind of teacher. If I were, I would not be a teacher anymore, at least not the kind of teacher I respect. Teachers have to get in there and tangle with students, and tangling sometimes means drawing blood--if only to make sure we still have it.

Maybe that is why some of us take risks with our teaching. We try to be loving teachers because we want to see evidence sometimes that we are not bloodless, that we still have some of those life forces. But we have no right to be vampire teachers, sucking the blood of others just to sustain ourselves. Anyhow, I do not want to be a bloodless teacher, but I also don't want to feed on the blood of others as my own blood grows thinner.

How did we get so morbid all of a sudden? Rosie, get us off Dracula and back on love in the classroom.

Rosie: Obviously, I would not wish bloodless teaching on anyone. But caring teaching does get us into awkward situations sometimes. Had I been

your Patricia, I would hope that you might have responded to my confession something like this:

"I am terribly flattered by your love for me, Patricia, but I'm also worried about what I did that caused you to have these feelings. I'm afraid that you may have misread some of my words and actions. No one is totally transparent to anyone else. We are all a bit opaque. For example, when you say that you have loved me for the past five years, I wonder what you mean by 'love.'"

"I wonder whether you know yet that clients sometimes fall in love with their lawyers, or with their counselors, in the same way that students sometimes fall in love with their professors. There is something that is right about this love: It is about gratitude and helping and closeness and many other positive human things. But it is not the kind of love *lovers* have for each other. It is too unequal. Lawyers and counselors and teachers have a certain power over their clients and students. They cannot shed that power at will, so they should always be conscious of that power and careful to show that they expect no favors, sexual or otherwise, from their clients or students."

"All I ever hoped for from you was that you could be the wonderful person you have become. Now that we are equals, I can talk to you bluntly. I love you the way one friend loves another. I don't love you the way I love my wife or the way I love my children. I am sorry if I unintentionally led you to think that my love for you was anything but a teacher's love for a gifted student. If I've caused you pain, I am especially sorry. But remember that feeling of pain when someone comes to you some day professing his love for you, a love of which you were unaware."

Pete: I feel uncomfortable writing so much about this particular case, but perhaps I should tell you what, indeed, I did say to Patricia. It was something like this, with a good many awkward pauses and frowns and smiles tossed in among the sentences:

"I am flattered, and pleased, Patricia, . . . and worried. I suppose I love you, too, in a certain way, but not love with a capital L. I mean, I think I could love you that way, or could have loved you in that way. But I have a family, other loves, spelled with capital L, that mean too much to me. Those other loves set up a roadblock on this dangerous pathway I am on with you. Robert Frost talks about 'the road not taken.' You represent such a road for me. It might have been a fine road, but I took another one before I met you."

"My instincts are to give you some sensible fatherly advice about how I am too old for you, and how sure I am that a more appropriate person than I will one day, perhaps quite soon, march into your life. My instincts are that I should tell you that I am no good for you."

"But you are not my student anymore, and I rarely give advice to adults. Besides, you know better than I what is good for you. All I can do is tell you that for us to think further about such love, or of doing anything about it, would not be good for *me*. Quite frankly, I do not think I could handle it. I would feel guilt, and distress, and confusion, and terror. Please understand."

Well, she did understand. We are still friends, at a safe distance. But it is risky business, this love in the classroom.

Rosie: It is indeed. I have just spoken to a professor who confessed that many years ago he fell in love--passionate love--with his student. A pregnancy and an abortion followed. The girl dropped out of sight. No one knows where she went. The professor regrets that he can't find her, just to find out if she is all right. He wonders whether she would have responded to his advances had he not been her teacher. He wonders whether he would have made any advances on this girl--this woman--had he been as aware then of sexual power plays as he is aware now. He wonders whether he *really* loved her.

And as bad as I feel for this professor--and as sure as I am that he learned from this sad experience--I am haunted by the girl of whom he spoke. I wonder why she got involved with the professor, and how she felt when she found out she was pregnant, and if she really wanted the abortion, and why she went away.

I'm getting a headache, Pete. Can you make sense of this mess, and of my conflicting sentiments, my lack of philosophical clarity?

Pete: I hate such stories. They disturb my comfortable sense that, for the most part, whatever happens usually works out for the best. I suppose the experience might have destroyed her, or a part of her. I can imagine all sorts of terrible fates for her: suicide, bitterness, terror, emotional inability to love another man.

On the other hand, she might have gone on, a temporarily sadder but permanently wiser woman. It may be that she built on that distressing experience and came to know herself--and men--better. It may be that she went on to form a stronger bond with a man more appropriate for her. It may be that her own unpleasant experience led her to go into a profession in which she could help women to avoid the kind of experience she had. I would prefer to imagine this kind of fate.

I suppose I am being hopelessly romantic, or hopelessly self-defensive, or just hopelessly male, but I do think that most of us grow through our adversities, our mistakes. It sounds as if that professor learned something, grew up, found out the hard way. I would like to think that the young woman might have also.

I know, I know. I'll bet you are thinking what Hemingway has Jake Barnes say at the end of *The Sun Also Rises*, "Isn't it pretty to think so?" But as a teacher I believe in almost unlimited possibilities for growth and learning, and that good things can come out of bad experiences. Certainly some of my own most intense and meaningful learning experiences came from mistakes I made, mistakes I learned the hard way not to make again.

Well, I do hope there are ways for us teachers to teach responsibly, teach beautifully, yet also take the risks we must take to do full-blooded, bold, honest, loving teaching. I guess I think that we must at all costs avoid that neutered, bloodless, embalmed, "safe" kind of teaching you wrote about. That

is not teaching. Real teaching, true teaching, means loving. Loving teaching means risking falling in love, and risking having our students fall in love.

I would like to think that the risks, considered in a wider perspective, are not all that great. For every Professor Romeo who plays dangerously with his female students, there are hundreds of loving teachers who are selfless enough and secure enough and wise enough to know when to pull back. For every student who has a fatal attraction to a caring professor, there are thousands who know better. We do not tell parents to stop being loving parents just because such love sometimes leads to the horror of incest. We must not tell teachers to stop being loving teachers just because their love sometimes leads to the horror of harassment.

Of course there is risk. I think we should take that risk, and then deal as responsible adults with those rare situations where love with a small L starts to border on love with a capital L.

Rosie: Perhaps so, as long as we remember that the final responsibility rests with us teachers, and that we cannot expect our students to know the risks as fully as we do. We must not forget that students cannot distinguish as well as we can between uppercase or lowercase love.

But now I want to change the subject a little. You talked about writing all those letters of recommendation for Patricia. One thing that amazes me is the number of letters of recommendation that I write each year. My best guess is that I average 125 letters a year: to law, medical, and business schools; to graduate departments of philosophy; to the Peace Corps, Amnesty International, and Women's Services--even to the FBI (spare me any letters to the CIA). Most of the time I remember quite well the student who has asked me to write on his or her behalf--enough to provide an anecdote or two.

Nevertheless, every once in awhile I am stymied for words. A student whom I barely know will ask me to write the obligatory reference letter on the grounds that he or she feels that I am the only teacher who knows anything "personal" about him or her. This revelation saddens me.

I teach at a small liberal arts college that prides itself on close student-faculty relations. How is it possible that some of our students are graduating with the sense that they are mere numbers in the registrar's file? Why is it that an increasing number of my colleagues say they don't have time to "hold students' hands," that all they want is a "professional" relationship with their students. "Let's not talk to the students about their anxieties, hopes, and personal problems," they say. "We've got the student services office for that. Let's confine ourselves to discussing the course material with them and their chances of getting into one of the good grad schools."

What happens to love in the classroom when too many teachers get "professional" and too many students get "success-oriented"?

Pete: That is one of the tragedies of college life, isn't it? I wonder how many students come and go "unloved," how many never get close enough to any teacher that, at graduation, they can proudly bring their parents up and say, "This is professor X, the one I told you about, the one who got me interested

in Y." We have been focusing on love in the classroom as it applies to students who love, or whom we love, too much. I suppose the more serious problem, really, is all those others, the ones who love, or whom we love, not at all. I don't know what to say. There are so many of them, so few of us. And the few of us there are have many professional demands on us.

When you say that too many teachers get "professional," I assume you mean that too many of them are spending too much of their time on research. I am of mixed minds about professors who do research. Research is important to me and helps to make me a better teacher--in most ways. It keeps me up with my field, conversant with other scholars, knowledgeable about grant possibilities, capable of taking part in conferences, able to help my graduate students become the kinds of professionals they will have to be in this academic world, and so on.

Let me say it a different way: One of the things I love in the classroom is the play of ideas, the sense of discovery that sometimes takes place. I cannot effectively play with those ideas or convey that sense of discovery if I do not do research.

On the other hand, my doing research and publication does interfere with my teaching. I can feel myself preparing less in some courses than I should, and I can feel the pressure to spend more of my time in the library, or in my office at home, or in my Lehigh office with the door closed, hoping no one will knock.

I know that I would not be happy in a purely "teach or perish" place, because I know that if I did not do some research and publication, and get noticed for it, I would soon perish as an effective classroom teacher. I get to know a few of my students very well--the ones for whom I feel and show love. But I know that there are many more whom I must shortchange in both time and love. I don't know what to do about this tension between researching and teaching, between writing and loving. I guess I hope that the students I neglect find other teachers from whom they get the love we speak of. But I know that many of them do not.

I think that every college undergraduate has a right to a mentor, to one teacher about whom he or she can say, "I really grew to know and love that teacher." I fear that too many students these days do not get to exercise that right.

How do you handle the tension between research and teaching?

Rosie: The tension you speak of is one that I frequently find crazy-making. Indeed, I found myself pushed to the limits today. At present I am in the process of writing a book on reproductive and genetic technology. Each morning I arrive at my office around 8:00. Each afternoon I leave my office around 5:00. This week I managed to write two or three pages in between classes, phone calls, correspondence, committee meetings, tearful students, nervous students, friendly students, and--oh yes--my two sons who were home on vacation.

As you probably suspect, I can't say no. I don't know how to say no. And so I push hard, trying to do it all. Sometimes I wonder if I'm burning myself out.

Lately I've been rereading Carol Gilligan's book *In a Different Voice*. As Gilligan sees it, women tend to espouse an ethic of caring, men an ethic of justice. Whereas women tend to think that morality is a matter of creating and sustaining healthy relationships--of trying not to hurt people unnecessarily--men tend to think that morality is a matter of applying principles universally, of not making exceptions to the rule. Although I have known women who think like men and men who think like women, I admit that I am one of the women of whom Gilligan speaks.

At times I get angry at myself for trying to do as much research as I do. The time I spend writing is time that I could spend loving--relating, nurturing, caring, advising, consoling, encouraging. Telling myself that writing is one of my professional obligations doesn't make me feel less guilty about rushing through a batch of student papers, cutting a student office visit short, getting home too late to bake the cookies I've promised my sons.

What does help me put things into perspective is telling myself that unless I do research, I will soon run out of insights to share with my students, and that I will soon come to view myself as a counterfeit intellectual. If I really care about my students, I must keep recharging my mental batteries for them. And, yes, if I really understand what caring is, then I must realize that I, as well as everyone else, need some caring. There are times when we teachers must remember to love ourselves.

Pete: Remember to love ourselves. What a wonderful way to put it! We are talking about love in the classroom, as if that were always something that went out from us to others, or came to us from others. Of course, we also have to think of love in the classroom, or in the profession, as something that we do for ourselves. How can we offer love to others if we don't first love ourselves?

But do we love ourselves? I do. I also have those long, impossible days. I usually get to the office at 7:00 a.m. I get there so early in part because I like getting my pick of the parking places, in part because I like to get to the laser printer before the others do, and in part because I love that hour and a half of quiet before the others show up. And I stay in my office most of the day, with the door open. I get some work done on my computer, and the phone rings, and students drop in, and I go to a meeting, then write up the minutes, and I tell knock-knock jokes with my colleagues, and I eat my homemade sandwich at my desk, and then the afternoon is full of more phone calls and more students and more meetings, and more letters of recommendation, and more this, and more that. At 5:30 or 6:00 p.m. I go home and talk with my wife and any of my children who happen to be around. Then I work for three or four more hours after dinner, preparing a class, grading a set of papers, writing an article, or proofreading a book, or knocking out another of these love letters to my friend Rosie Tong.

Why do I live this strange kind of life?

I live it because I love it. Why else would I drive myself this way? It is not for the money or the fame, because there is little of either for caring teachers. I guess I must do it just for the fun of it. I love being busy and active and needed. I love seeing students and teaching and writing and publishing--all these things I would want to do even if I were not being paid to do them.

And when I talk this way about my profession, I remind myself that offering love to my students is not something I do because I feel a heavy obligation to do it, or because my department head or dean is telling me to do it, or because when I entered this profession I made some kind of Hippocratic oath to love my research and to love my students. Love is not something we do for others. It is a selfish act, something we do for ourselves.

Can you imagine enjoying this profession if there were not so *many* important things to do all the time?

Rosie: No, I can't! It is the variety of the teaching experience that keeps me enjoying it. But I can imagine a person burning out--that is, a person no longer being able to enjoy this profession. I can imagine this because it almost happened to me two years ago. I was doing so many things--so many important things--that I forgot one of the most important things about love. It needs space. It needs time.

For many years I was known as one of those teachers who always has time for students. But gradually I started to run out of time. I packed my schedule so full that I had less and less time for anyone in particular. It was then that I recognized that love involves choices. If we try to love everyone in general, we risk failing to love anyone in particular. And so I began to pace myself. I still do a lot of things, but not quite as many as I used to do. And I've stopped doing some things--things that turned out to be not so important.

As a result, I'm enjoying this profession more than ever, and it's because I once again have time to love attentively and reflectively. Like life, love must be examined to be worth experiencing. And self-examination is a continual process that requires time and space--time and space that we must give ourselves so that our task of teaching can always remain more than a task.

Pete: You're right, of course. It seems that the most loving teachers are workaholics. Work in the name of love is devotion. *Over*work in the name of love, however, is disease. And *gross* overwork in the name of love is death. But it seems almost impossible to escape the peculiar intensity, the peculiar responsibility, that comes with loving teaching. It would be easier to relax if we cared less what happens to students, if we cared less about whether they learned and grew, if we cared less about our subjects, our research. For a loving teacher, this profession may not be all that healthful. We must protect ourselves, protect our own lives, from the temptation to care too much. I'm not so good at that kind of protection. I guess you're not either.

Rosie: I think it is time to hear from the audience. Perhaps they have some questions they would like to ask, some experiences they would like to share, some objections they would like to raise.

Pete: That's right. After all, loving teaching involves not just teachers talking, but teachers listening. We urge you in the audience to remember that we are not experts on love in the classroom. We are learners, explorers. Rosie and I tend to agree that good teaching is loving teaching, but we are aware that there are certain risks: risks to students who can be damaged, and risks to ourselves, both emotionally and physically. We think the risks are worth it, but we'd like to know what you think.

* * * * *

Larry: You mention that there are some students you love, but don't you feel guilty about the ones you can't quite love? I've been having that problem more and more. For some students, I have no particular feeling, and they have none for me. I feel bad about it. I feel that I should be reaching out equally to all, but I usually just give up and say, "Well, I can't love everybody." What do you do about that?

Rosie: I have that same kind of tension. I do worry about the students who I feel are totally out of my emotional sphere. I have tried to convince myself that certain students don't like me, or don't deserve the love that I feel for others. Do you know what I mean? I tell myself things like, "Obviously the reason that kid's not paying attention is that he thinks I'm an idiot." I should stop this after 10 years of doing it, but I don't. I try to convince myself that I can only be who I am, and offer my services the best I can. I try to provide a decent class. If the student responds, fine. If not, well, then I remind myself that it is not necessarily all my fault. It's sort of back to Pete's point. College students are adults. If they want to respond, fine. If not, that is their responsibility as much as it is mine. But I never feel good about the ones who do not.

Pete: I tell my students that I'm available to them, if they want to see me. I'm teaching Chaucer this semester. I have 54 students in that class. I tell them that I can't get to know them as closely as I did back when I had 12 students in this class. But I say, "You've got some responsibility. If you would like to have a more personal relationship with me, come on in, let's talk." I schedule a 15-minute talk with each one of those students in the first three weeks of class. That's a lot of 15-minute segments. But the students learn where my office is, and I learn their names, and we do get acquainted, after a fashion. I tell them I would be happy to have them come in to see me again, if they want to chat, or if they have any questions. I say I am not going to go find them, but they are welcome to come back. Some of them do. Most of them don't. And as busy as I am, most of my office hours go by with no one coming

in. I end every course with a sense of failure, knowing that I have not really gotten to know, let alone love, most of my students.

Tom: I just want to play devil's advocate for a moment. Do you think it is dangerous to talk about emotional connections between students and teachers in a general audience like this? I mean, you two are experienced and mature, but other teachers might misuse the kind of advice you are giving.

Pete: I appreciate what you say. I might say, first, that I do not consider this audience of teachers to be a "general" audience, though many of you look younger than we are. I think it is good for teachers of all ages to talk about such matters, and to know that others have experienced some of the same emotional tuggings and temptations that they may be feeling. I really believe that we can learn from the experiences of others. As for advice, I did not know that we gave any, except perhaps that it is usually a good idea to take controlled risks when we are teaching. Some risks are dangerous, but teachers who take no risks in the pursuit of good teaching may never be fully effective teachers.

Bill: I have a related question. You both have talked very openly with us. You let your masks down and I was really moved by what you were saying. I wonder if you would talk this way if you were talking with a group of your students. I mean, do you talk of love with groups of students, or only one-on-one with students, or only with teachers like us?

Rosie: It has never occurred to me to give a talk on this subject to students, but I can imagine certain circumstances where doing so might be appropriate. But I have found over the years that I've become more willing to take risks that I did not take when I started teaching. When I first came out of graduate school I thought it was very important to maintain a kind of professional rigidity. It was not that I was afraid that students might get the wrong impression about me. It was more an authority issue. This was 10 years or so ago when I first started teaching, and I thought that as a woman the only way I could exert any kind of force or control in the classroom was by being very reined in and businesslike, avoiding all emotional displays. And what I discovered rapidly, after just one year of trying to do that, was that I was getting ulcers from trying to hold myself in. And I said to myself, "If teaching requires this kind of power trip, *forget it*. I'll be a lawyer, or I'll do something where it's part of the territory or the expectation that I should be that way." I was reading Adrienne Rich at that time, a lot of her poetry and a lot of her essays. She would move from erudite analysis of text to very personal revelations about herself. And I said to myself, "That is a wonderful blending of the professional and the personal." As I have matured as a teacher, I have learned to weave in those moments. I find them risky moments, for a variety of reasons, but for me they are part of my teaching style.

Bob: One of the most provocative things you've said had to do with the way we all tend to try to be the type of person someone would fall in love

with. I think we have to explore the reason for that. What is the outcome we want? Is that a kind of narcissism? I mean, is the idea, "I want you to affirm me, that's why I'm affirming you?" If so, then I think some of the things Margaret Matlin said yesterday in her talk on stereotypes might apply here. Is there not a danger that we would flip those stereotypes around and say, in effect, "I will show this love to the kind of person whom I want to affirm me: long slender legs, blonde hair, whatever." You see, it can become very sexist. And when that happens, I am taking, not giving, because I am waiting for an outcome. It is not necessarily a sexual outcome, but I want some outcome that affirms me rather than the student. And it seems to me that when we start to become affirmed rather than to affirm, that's when love turns into narcissism.

Pete: Good point, Bob.

Rosie: I couldn't have said it better. That's excellent. Nice summary.

Pete: I see Margaret is in the audience. Do you want to respond?

Margaret: No, he's really elaborated on that point well, and raised the whole issue of power dynamics.

Pete: This is tricky business, no doubt about it. I think we must all examine--not annihilate, but examine--our own emotions. It may be that we are never quite up to the task of separating love of others from love of ourselves, separating our affirmation of certain others with the need for affirmation ourselves.

Jim: I was thinking back over the dozen years that I've been teaching. The times when there were those warning signals were the times that my classes were going best. Those warnings that something risky is going on are an indicator that something good is going on. I remember a couple-year period in which none of that happened. I took no risks, felt no warning signals that I might be screwing up. It was a couple-year period in which I just rushed to class and taught, and then rushed off to do 17 other things before 5:25 in the afternoon. I really did not have time to do anything risky, and my teaching suffered. So, almost I would say that if nothing is happening that's risky, you're doing something wrong.

Rosie: You know, what you said really evoked in me a memory of my years at Williams. I taught there for 10 years. The longer I was there, the more I got established within the college, doing more and more and more things. And then I would get larger and larger enrollments, you know, ludicrous enrollments where I would have 180 students in one class. It was like a snowball. I knew it was wrong, I knew it was destructive, I knew it wasn't good for the students, I knew it wasn't good for me, but I couldn't stop it. Then my husband happened to die. That made me stop and say, "OKAY, remember, the good old unexamined life is not worth living. It's time to examine." I felt myself weakened, as if I was not in control of my own destiny anymore. I thought that the only way to stop it--and this is an admission of

weakness--was to get myself out of the environment and to start all over again at a different place. When an opportunity came up at Davidson College, I took it. And now I find myself wanting to keep things under control so that snowball doesn't start rolling all over again. I know that once I get suckered into it or sucked up into it, I will lose my ability to do the kind of teaching I love doing. Things seem always the best when I'm able to relate to the students as people. That's what I love about teaching. It is ironic that that's the first thing threatened by success in this profession--the freedom to do loving teaching.

Jay: You were saying that loving teaching is something that makes a big difference in how our class works and what the students learn and what we learn. But you were also talking about the snowball effect, the balancing of our lives, the choices we have to make, the risk that the institutional requirements increasingly draw us away from exactly the things that make both teaching and research fun. I wonder if you have any thoughts about some first steps, some minor changes we could make that would make life a little better, so we could love both teaching and research?

Pete: Part of the trouble is that those of us who are good teachers are often pretty good at most other things too. It is not as if we do this one little thing well, and screw up everything else. We're also pretty good at advising, at committees, at administration, at research. Those are all important responsibilities in an academic setting, and we *should* do our share. But they quickly overwhelm us, don't they? Rosie's response was to go to another college. Mine is to take sabbaticals as often as I can, to break the connections that wind up taking the fun out of my job. I get more sabbaticals than most professors because I am willing to go on half-salary for a year. The university finds ways to replace me at less than half my salary. I live cheaply, pay fewer taxes, and get some writing done. Then, a year later, I return eager to teach again, my mind liberated from the rush of conflicting demands, my emotions cleansed for another go at loving teaching. I have no particular advice, I suppose, beyond breaking the ties from time to time. I sometimes try to remind myself that just because I *can* do a task, doesn't mean I *should* do it. We workaholics have more choices than we sometimes think we have.

Muhammed: I too was moved by what you said. I have a question. It seems that the premise of this presentation is that there is somehow a direct relationship between the amount of personal interaction that takes place between the teacher and the student and the amount of learning that goes on. This assumption seems to be unexamined. I would like to examine this assumption because it is based on a Western tradition, on a Judeo-Christian tradition. The model teacher is Christ, who came down to the level of the poor and lovingly interacted with all kinds of people. But there is an Eastern model as well: the great teacher who is rather detached--not dispassionate, but detached--who enters the classroom and lectures. In these lectures a great deal of learning takes place. Lives are changed, relationships come together, but

rarely in this Eastern model would that great teacher interact with the audience. And yet a tremendous amount of learning is generated. How do you account for that?

Rosie: That's a very penetrating question. It is, of course, based on a fundamentally different set of assumptions about education and the role of the teacher. My husband was Mainland Chinese. He came from a very different tradition and we would argue about this question. He did not feel that my style of teaching was appropriate because he taught on the model of the more detached professor. I cannot hope to give a full answer to your question, but it may be that our different assumptions are associated with different traditions. Within one tradition the expectations and the interactions between the professor and the student would mesh together beautifully. There would be dissonance, or lack of synchronization, only if the professor was from a different cultural orientation from the students. Your question becomes increasingly important as universities become more international. In the years ahead we'll all have to learn about different teaching and learning styles.

Pete: That's a really good question, Muhammed. Our freshmen at Lehigh sometimes complain that they cannot understand their "foreign" teaching assistants. What they think they mean is that the language is different. Your question makes me realize that a more fundamental problem may be that these teachers teach from a different set of assumptions about teaching and learning. It may be less a language problem than a cultural problem. Last year I taught as a Fulbright Professor in Mainland China. I walked into those classrooms and immediately experienced cultural dissonance. For most of my students, I was the first teacher who ever asked them a question in class, or expected them to ask me questions in class. We had a series of misunderstandings and unsatisfied expectations, but we gradually adjusted to each other. What I want to say is that those Chinese students, who had been educated under quite a different set of pedagogical assumptions from mine, were among the best students I've ever had the pleasure of teaching. We in the West have not cornered the market in effective teaching. We in the West have no monopoly on loving teaching. We have merely learned to express that love in different ways.

Alessio, H. M. (1991). Use of educational games for difficult subject material. *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching*, 2, 71-76.

Use of Educational Games for Difficult Subject Material

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Educational games have been used in classrooms for years to reinforce material previously presented in lectures and assignments. Specific goals and objectives for these games vary, but usually student-players engage in problem solving, recall, applied knowledge, association, or other performance tasks in a friendly, competitive setting. There is no consensus among teachers and students as to whether games clearly enhance learning (McKeachie, 1986). However, proponents of educational games point to motivational elements (Lepper & Malone, 1987), student involvement (McKeachie, 1986), and simulations of real-life events (Gamson, 1966) that make game playing an attractive teaching-learning activity.

The game ECG ATTACK© was developed to assist students in learning cardiovascular physiology and electrocardiography (ECG) interpretation. Learning about the heart, hemodynamics, electrical conductivity, and proper ECG interpretation requires a great deal of memorization, association, and recall. In my experience, students often have problems mastering this subject material. By using the game ECG ATTACK© to reinforce information presented in lectures and reading assignments, students can test and apply their knowledge of important concepts in a sportive way.

Use of Innovative Educational Activities

There is no easy way to motivate students or to ascertain whether they are learning, especially when the subject material is difficult. Access to diverse instructional aids may contribute to a positive learning environment, but by itself, use of an instructional aid does not guarantee either excitement or learning in the classroom. There is no substitute for good teaching; it is a

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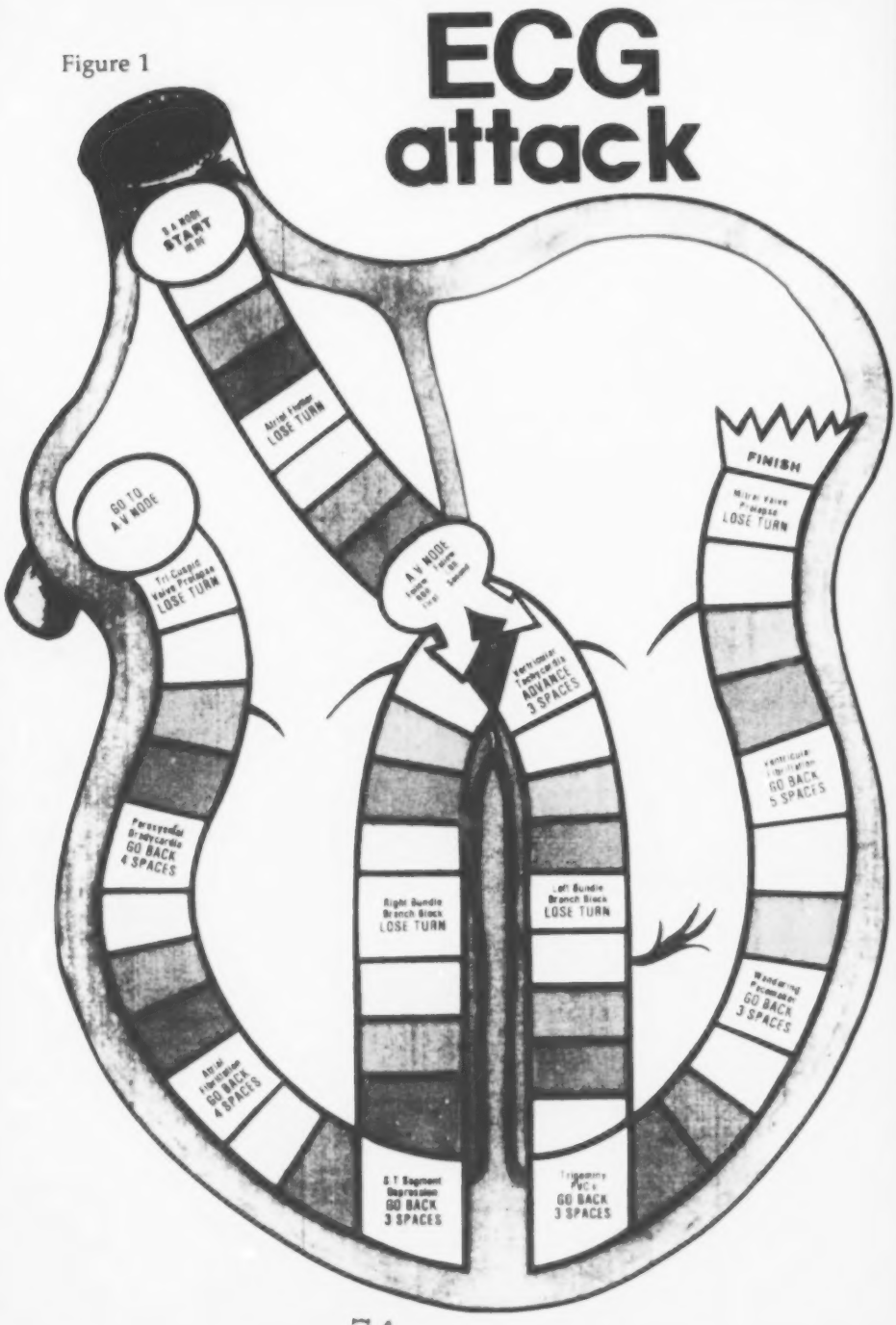
Figure 1


ECG
attack
START
GO TO A-V NODE
Atrial Flutter LOSE TURN
A-V NODE
Tri Cuspid Valve Prolapse LOSE TURN
Paroxysmal Tachycardia ADVANCE 3 SPACES
Paroxysmal Bradycardia GO BACK 4 SPACES
Right Bundle Branch Block LOSE TURN
Left Bundle Branch Block LOSE TURN
FINISH
Mitral Valve Prolapse LOSE TURN
Ventricular Fibrillation GO BACK 5 SPACES
Wandering Pacemaker GO BACK 3 SPACES
Atrial Fibrillation GO BACK 4 SPACES
S-T Segment Depression GO BACK 3 SPACES
Tricuspid PVC's GO BACK 3 SPACES

catalyst that regulates student efforts and achievements that are unique to every learning situation. In fact, good teaching and learning have occurred without instructional aids for centuries.

In the course of an average 15-week semester, however, there may be times when teamwork, problem solving, knowledge application, and creative reinforcement of difficult concepts may spark excitement in students and enhance learning in the classroom. Although it is doubtful that any one innovative activity or educational game can facilitate all learning objectives and improve class achievement, it is worth exploring the possibility that student effort and learning may be enhanced via a novel teaching activity.

Developing ECG ATTACK©: An Educational Game

The game board (Figure 1) for ECG ATTACK© was designed to reinforce selected principles of cardiovascular physiology and ECG interpretation in the following ways:

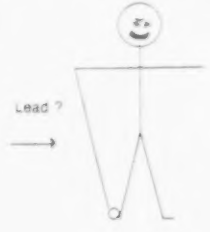
1. Players advance from START to FINISH along the same path that electricity is conducted in the heart (beginning in the sino-atrial node and ending in the Purkinje fibers that innervate both ventricles).

2. As players advance by the roll of a die, they may land on a space that holds specific consequences, for example, to lose a turn. The rationale for each consequence reflects a deleterious heart condition such as bundle branch block, a physiological event that is covered in class.

3. The playing cards in this game tap into three different types of information retrieval: A DRAW card requires the player to draw a figure that represents a given term, an IDENTIFY card directs the player to identify a given figure, and a QUESTION card calls for an answer to a question. Examples of the types of questions and tasks included in the game are as follows:

DRAW: (a) An inverted T-wave as it would appear in a cardiac cycle.
(b) Leads I, II, and III in a normal axis system.

IDENTIFY: (a)



(b)

QUESTION: (a) What do T-waves represent?
(b) What is the role of the Purkinje fibers?

Playing the Game

In a typical round of play, participants roll a die and move their game pieces around the game board onto consequence spaces or colored spaces. Three different colored spaces correspond to three types of playing cards:

Color	Card
Green	Question
Blue	Identify
Yellow	Draw

If a game piece lands on a blue space, for example, the player (or team) has to identify a figure on the corresponding card within one minute. If a wrong answer is given, the game piece is returned to the space it occupied prior to the last roll. If a correct answer is given (correct answers are on the flip side of each card), the game piece remains at that space, and the same player or team rolls again. It takes approximately 40 minutes for five teams of three players to complete ECG ATTACK©.

Student Reactions to Playing the Game

Feedback was requested from students after playing ECG ATTACK©, and their remarks were categorized as positive, neutral, or negative. Selected responses for each category are given in Table 1. Overall, positive responses outnumbered the negative by a ratio of 4:1. It was significant that several students described playing the game as fun, because learning about cardiovascular physiology and ECG interpretation had never been described that way in my experience. Perhaps more important, playing the game appeared to motivate students to increase and apply their knowledge in an effort to answer the questions in the playing cards successfully. Discussion and debate accompanied many of the questions and answers as students critiqued the playing cards, argued for support of their answers, entertained other interpretations, and resolved problems that occurred during the game.

Evaluation

The intent of ECG ATTACK© is to provide students an opportunity to test their knowledge of cardiovascular physiology and ECG interpretation in a sportive setting. No grading of game performance occurs, in part because an element of luck is involved (i.e., rolling the die to advance the game piece). It is not known whether playing ECG ATTACK© enhances learning; however, an empirical study is underway to determine if a difference in knowledge exists between a group that plays the game for two weeks and a group that does not play but reads the course material during a similar time period.

Table 1

Selected Student Comments About Playing ECG ATTACK©

Positive

"It was the most fun I ever had learning about ECG strips."

"I liked playing the game because usually this stuff is boring. Playing the game made the material seem interesting and fun."

"I knew more about the heart than I thought."

Neutral

"You still have to study on your own to get the correct answers in the game, so the game doesn't make learning easier."

"Playing the game was kind of interesting, but it depends on who is on your team."

Negative

"The questions on the playing cards were not of equal difficulty--that interfered with the game."

"There were [sic] more than one correct answer to several questions--what do we do when that happens?"

"I didn't learn anything from playing the game."

Applying ECG ATTACK© to Other Disciplines

The game described in this article is one approach to learning basic physiological principles of the heart, including interpretation of electrical conductivity on ECG recordings. The game board, tasks, and questions were designed with these learning objectives in mind, so as to reinforce specific types of problem solving, recall, and association. A similar approach can be used in other disciplines when introducing a game for difficult subject material. One example is a game for a history course. Spaces on the game board could represent a series of historical events in chronological order. By advancing along the game board, players become familiar with important events in time, reinforcing a sense of time order or cause and effect. A second

example is a game for a geography course. This game board could be set inside a map with players moving throughout a region, thus becoming familiar with the locations of important cities, battle sites, or environmental considerations.

Regardless of the subject material, innovative games usually can spark student interest, if only because games create a novel learning environment compared to a traditional lecture setting. Some basic game design principles should be considered relative to the main components of the game. For example, the game board represents the focus, flow, and information center (e.g., who is winning?). It should represent some aspect of the subject material, whether a picture of the heart, a map of a country, or a design having artistic or historic significance. Game questions should require several different types of learning and include open-ended questions, simple recall, and problem solving. Items and board spaces of chance may be included as a sportive distraction, but can also contribute to the spirit of the game if a consequence (e.g., lose a turn) is related to some aspect of the subject material.

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Common Instructional Problems in the Multicultural Classroom

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Since the arrival of significant numbers of diverse minority students at predominantly Anglo* institutions of higher learning, educators have been concerned about the academic performance of these students. We recognize that equitable treatment of all students is our responsibility, but we may not know which attitudes, behaviors, expectations, or teaching strategies might be misunderstood by minority students and have a negative effect on learning.

This article seeks to (a) identify factors that tend to influence the academic success of minority students; (b) analyze variables associated with minority student learning, including student/professor interaction, student motivation, limited English proficiency, cultural variations in written logic, and understanding of diverse worldviews; and (c) offer observations directed toward facilitating change.

Variables Associated With Minority Student Learning

Historically, aspects of individual ability and personality (i.e., the capacity to act purposefully, to think critically, to develop independent judgments, to deal effectively with one's environment, and to excel) have been viewed as key predictors of academic success (Wechsler, 1958). Research conducted during the past 15 years, however, has been rather consistent in identifying specific external factors that also tend to influence significantly the academic

*For the purposes of this article, the authors use the term *Anglo* rather than *White*. This recognizes that the classification *White* designates membership in a racial category, but *Anglo* indicates those individuals who are both White and share a common cultural origin, descent, and culture. That is, Anglos share a cultural history and context that is rooted in American and English values, experiences, and worldview.

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success and retention of students (Astin, 1982; Tinto, 1982). The factors most often cited fall into distinct categories: the extent of "cultural capital" or social assets, familiarity and identification with the dominant culture (DiMaggio & Mohr, 1985), socioeconomic status (Hallinan, 1988; Sewell & Hauser, 1980), prior educational background and achievement (Bourdieu, 1973), environmental and familial support (Teachman, 1987), student motivation and commitment, higher teacher expectations for student achievement (Miller, Kohn, & Schooler, 1985, 1986), and institutional environment (Berube, 1984).

Because the factors and variables under discussion are important to the success of all students and recognized as characteristic of effective classroom instruction, they are even more critical to the academic success and retention of minority students. Increasingly, however, university-related variables are seen as inhibiting the success of minority students. These variables include the fact that American colleges and universities tend to reflect learning theories of Anglo-Europeans with respect to cognitive functioning, learning, and achievement, and that some professors foster academic failure in minority students by not teaching effectively (Anderson, 1988; Burstein & Cabello, 1989). Brown (1986) argues that classroom teaching is often ineffective for certain groups, particularly in multicultural classrooms.

It is recognized that the degree to which these factors apply to minority students is directly related to the extent of their acculturation to American university learning processes. Anderson (1988) emphasizes the importance of understanding the acculturation gap as a factor limiting minority academic success. Kim (1981) suggests that minority students who experience an acculturation gap often need academic help and counseling to develop goals, support systems, and realistic expectations. Although individual students may take on characteristics of the dominant culture, the persistent influence of the parent culture predisposes the student to specific learning styles (Anderson, 1988; Herskovitz, 1958).

Because of the range of acculturation among minority students, the forthcoming observations are more relevant with respect to first-generation Americans, that is, Hispanics and Asians. Beyond this, the observations must be generalized with caution.

Student-Professor Interaction

Two patterns have emerged from the extensive research on student-professor interactions (Brophy & Good, 1979; Good, 1981). First, Good (1981) and Alexander, Entwisle, and Thompson (1987) found causal relationships between professor expectations and student achievement. They concluded that professors tend to hold differing expectations for students based on prior achievement, physical attractiveness, gender, socioeconomic status, and race/ethnicity (as did Brophy & Good, 1973, and Wilkinson & Marrett, 1985). In addition, professors tend to interact with students in ways that convey their expectations for student achievement. These expectations significantly affect the student's current performance, regardless of past

performance. Second, professors' differing expectations of students lead to differential treatment in the classroom. Professors are less likely to plan and direct instruction at students who are not expected to make significant academic gains (Biehler & Snowman, 1986; Brophy & Good, 1973; Good, 1981; Woolfolk & McCune-Nicolich, 1980).

Teaching has been described as interaction that induces learning. If the quality of classroom teaching is linked to the quality of interaction, it is important for instructors to understand and direct student-teacher interactions in the classroom. Further, because nonverbal communication is typically more powerful and significant than verbal interaction, professors need to identify and interpret classroom interactions at both verbal and nonverbal levels. Finally, there must be ample opportunity for students and professors to test each other, to estimate reactions, and to familiarize themselves with the communication styles of other people (Phillips & Ericksen, 1970). To interact meaningfully with a diverse student population, professors must be willing to learn as well as to teach.

Professors frequently are unaware they harbor attitudes that tend to lead to differing expectations and treatment of students. The following fictionalized but realistic situations illustrate this lack of awareness:

1. An economics professor introduces the topic of unemployment and poverty one day in class. He asks a minority student to provide relevant background information and illustrations. The student, who comes from a well-to-do family, responds that she cannot provide such data. The instructor believes that the student is being insolent and disagreeable. He is obviously unaware of the stereotypes at the root of his assumptions and behaviors.

2. Several women students are enrolled in a graduate discussion class. Throughout the term, the professor attempts to involve all of his students in class discussions but calls only on male students to make contributions. He never recognizes women students, especially women of color, unless they raise their hands. His actions are based on a desire not to embarrass the women students if they are not prepared to contribute. This is not the case for his male students. The instructor thus communicates to the class that the contributions of male students are more important than those of female students.

3. A history professor receives a term paper from a Hispanic student. It is a good paper but has some flaws which, if corrected, would make the paper excellent. The professor gives the student a B and does not mention the paper's shortcomings, because the paper is at least good in its present form. It is interesting to note that the professor generally believes that stringent criticism results in improved work. She provides such criticism to her majority students, but she apparently believes unconsciously that B work is sufficient for Hispanic students and therefore withholds criticism that could be helpful to them.

Although it is unlikely that the professors in these examples intended to offend their minority students, they exhibited behaviors that might well have had a negative effect on both their majority and minority students. Billson

(1986) concludes that both professor and student must accept responsibility for creating successful learning experiences and for striving toward educational equity in the classroom.

One way that professors convey their expectations to students is through oral and written comments. According to Brown (1986), teacher comments at all levels of education tend to focus more on behavior or socialization than on academics, especially when directed toward minority students. As a result, minority students come to believe that the object is to please the professor, not to learn. Subtle changes in the way professors interact with students can shift the focus to learning. Professor comments should emphasize links between behavior or socialization and academic achievement. The quality of the effort--in terms of format, content, and thought--should be pointed out. Further, academic success should be linked to immediate student benefits.

The following examples contrast professor comments that emphasize behavior with comments that focus on academics:

"Your writing style is improving."	*versus*	"Your writing style is improving. It is easy to see your idea develop throughout the paper because of the way you have sequenced the paragraphs."
"All papers must be in on time."	*versus*	"All papers must be in on time. Having reacted to the author's ideas in this paper will provide you with a good basis of comparison when we read another author's point of view in class next week."

Student Motivation

Student motivation and student-teacher interactions have been identified as variables related to minority student learning. By making moderate changes in teaching style, a professor can manipulate these two variables to increase learning in multicultural classrooms. It is recognized that all students are capable of learning but that they learn for different reasons and in different ways. Thus, motivation in multicultural classrooms involves learning styles and perceived relevance. Just as the ways of learning are as individual as fingerprints, so does motivation vary within multicultural classrooms. What motivates one individual or group may have no observable effect on others.

Educators and psychologists have long recognized that a key to student motivation is creating interest in the course or topic. Creating interest in a multicultural classroom provides a challenge for the instructor because of the varied backgrounds and perceived needs among students. For example, Anglo

students have been shown to be motivated by moderately novel stimuli or approaches to classroom instruction. Instructional strategies that create interest among Anglo students may be as simple as changing the seating arrangement; beginning a lecture with a personal or humorous story; adding color and varied type styles to overhead transparencies; using role playing, discussion, or film instead of lecturing; or adding dramatics (Biehler & Snowman, 1986). However, these novel approaches may intimidate or complicate the learning experience for some minority students.

Interest is also linked to student perceptions of relevance and usefulness of the course or topic (Anderson, 1988; Biehler & Snowman, 1986). In the multicultural classroom, these perceptions of relevance vary across cultural groups. Most Anglo, middle-class students in higher education, for example, have had strong familial support since early in life. These achievement-oriented students are motivated by the realization that a course is a necessary requirement for their degree or that it may help them pass qualifying exams for graduate school or professional credentials. For Black or Hispanic students, however, this perception of deferred relevance may be insufficient motivation to achieve (Brown, 1986). Early in the term, students must be shown how the course relates to the real, immediate world in which they live. To be perceived as relevant and purposeful, the course must be designed to recognize and address the needs of all students and must provide frequent applications that validate the subject matter.

Too often instructors fail to recognize the immediate and perceived needs of the students in a diverse classroom. As a result, instructors may be ineffective in motivating students to achieve. Teaching in a diverse classroom means that the professor must present multiple purposes for the course and topics under study. Although large class enrollments often preclude individualized instruction, an understanding of differing minority student motivation and learning styles is essential. To motivate all the individuals and cultural groups in the class, the professor must demonstrate how the course meets their specific needs, both immediate and deferred.

Limited English Proficiency

Because the key to communication in the classroom is mutual intelligibility, student-professor interactions are complicated when students or professors have limited English proficiency. When students have poor writing or speaking skills, it is difficult to assess their progress in the classroom. The resulting frustration felt by the professor may be communicated subtly to the students, further compounding the communication problem.

Minority students with limited oral proficiency often hesitate to participate in class, especially if they suspect that their contribution will be judged for language conformity rather than for content. Students may come to view the professor and the class as a source of humiliation and consequently withdraw from learning activities. According to Brown (1986), when students have thus

withdrawn, it is nearly impossible to involve them further in the learning process.

Moderate changes in professor behavior, however, can create a learning environment more conducive to the participation of minority students. An atmosphere of mutual respect must be fostered in which it is "safe" for minority students to respond. In a climate of psychological safety, students apparently feel more comfortable about displaying their knowledge or lack thereof. They are more willing to share experiences and expertise, and to disagree with the point of view of the professor (Kelley & Thibaut, 1954). In discussing the concept of psychological safety, Benjamin (1978) argues that the class climate affects the students' sense of belonging and whether or not they look forward to class, participate, drop the class, or leave the university altogether. A safe, friendly climate tends to increase class participation and attendance.

The following is a list of professor behaviors that tend to communicate respect for all students during classroom interactions:

1. Pay particular attention to classroom interaction patterns during the first few weeks of class, and make a special effort to draw minorities into discussion during that time.
2. Respond to minority and majority students in similar ways when they make comparable contributions to class discussion. Enlarge on their comments, credit comments to their author, and coach both minority and majority students to offer additional information or further thoughts.
3. Be careful to ask minority and majority students qualitatively similar questions, and give all students an equal amount of time to respond to a question.
4. Make eye contact with minority as well as majority students after asking a question to invite a response.
5. Assume an attentive posture when responding to questions from minorities or when listening to their comments.
6. Notice patterns of interruption to determine if minority students tend to be interrupted more than majority students. Intervene when communication patterns among students tend to shut out minorities. (Hall, 1982)

In a classroom environment characterized by effective instruction, much of this respect is communicated nonverbally by the professor. In his investigation of effective schooling with Native Alaskan students, Scollon (1981) found that effective teachers were "tuned in" to nonverbal student rhythms during conversation. The hand, eye, and body movements of the listener were timed to coincide with the movements and speech of the speaker. The author concluded that this unconscious coordination of rhythm led to effective communication among Native Alaskan teachers and students. Conversely, the lack of coordinated rhythm between Native Alaskan students and non-native teachers limited the effectiveness of classroom interaction. Scollon (1981) suggested that the key to effective classroom interaction for non-native teachers was a positive attitude toward the students that made the teachers receptive to student nonverbal communication.

It is important, then, that professors in any multicultural classroom first examine their own attitudes toward verbal and nonverbal communication styles. Professors must then evaluate whether the communication style of a minority student's comment, question, or response affects their perception of its importance or validity.

Culturally Variant Logic in Student Writing

Subtle changes in professor behavior are also essential in interacting with students who have limited proficiency in written English. Considerable frustration results when professors fail to recognize that patterns of organization in writing vary across cultures. Condon and Yousef (1988) report that cultural differences are readily apparent in routine theme papers written by minority students. These differences are attributable to cultural and personal factors such as persuasive purpose and speaker-audience relationships. The dominant Anglo-American style, for example, approximates the organization of a debate. In this directive style, the presenter's position is stated with confidence, the opponent's position is presented as incorrect, supporting evidence is presented, and a conclusion reaffirms the truth of the presenter's position. The style used by students whose cultural socialization is to seek consensus, such as Asian-Americans, shows a different organizational pattern with less strength of conviction. To the Anglo professor, this style appears cautious, tentative, tolerant or even complimentary of disparate opinions, and incomplete in making a point. Condon and Yousef (1988) report that students using this style carefully avoid coming to a central point or conclusion, as expected by most university professors.

Although debated conceptually (Halio, 1991), Kaplan (1970) notes marked differences between the logic or style of writing and building a position between native English writers and foreign-student writers (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Differences in Writing Logic

English	Semetic (Arab, Egyptian, Lebanese, etc.)	Oriental (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, etc.)	Romance (Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese)

Great contrasts develop in the presentation of argument, number of digressions permitted, and sentence types.

According to Kaplan (1970), problems in written communication in cross-cultural classrooms emerge at the level of the paragraph. That is, while the individual sentences in a paper may appear to be good English, minority students who have not mastered the syntax of standard English may still write bad paragraphs or papers unless they also master the logic of English. According to Davidson and Davidson (1989), students with limited English proficiency tend to conceptualize paragraphs in terms of length rather than interrelated components. The resulting paragraph generally contains a series of run-on sentences, fragments, and disregard for capitalization and punctuation. It may be necessary, then, to instruct minority students that the writing process in English involves a set of assumptions different from those with which they are accustomed to working.

Beyond understanding writing style differences in multicultural classrooms, professors need to affirm these cultural styles. When it is important that the directive English style be used, its standards should be clearly stated. The required style should be modeled and contrasted to alternative styles, and professors should be sure that students understand the structure of the expected writing style for the assignment. The use of outlines and drafts before the final paper enables the instructor to coach the student in the expected style throughout the writing process, and thus tends to eliminate much of the frustration related to writing proficiency in multicultural classrooms.

Understanding Diverse Worldviews

Another aspect of building a climate of mutual respect in the classroom is personal involvement in the culture and lives of students, especially minority students. It is essential that professors attempt to understand the worldviews of minority students. This means going beyond learning about the traditional cultural expressions such as food, art, music, dance, and literature to understanding the perspectives and values that minority students hold. It is vital to understand the minority student's perspectives on time, family, competition, and orientation toward nature. Scollon (1981) found that teachers who were effective in teaching cross-culturally not only attempted to understand the culture of the students but also allowed *themselves* to be known as persons with unique biographies, family customs, preferences, interests, and worldviews. This process, of course, often required personal interaction outside of the classroom.

Facilitating Change

A primary obstacle to significant change in many educational systems is institutional resistance. To some extent, this is a positive quality in that it

prevents schools from yielding to educational fads. Nevertheless, reevaluation and adjustment are necessary at times.

Changing everyday classroom behavior that expresses devalued and limited views of minorities is a difficult challenge, because the differential treatment that occurs in classroom and related interaction is often inadvertent and subconscious on the part of both faculty and students. However, such change is already underway, and directions for future changes need to be charted by ongoing dialogue and research. Indeed, the impact of diversity on interactions in the university and society is becoming a major focus for research on many fronts, both within and outside academia.

We need to acknowledge that many faculty already recognize the importance of improving classroom communication with minorities and are attempting to do so. Perhaps faculty development leaders could assist professors who want to become more aware of their own subtle behaviors that may discourage minority students. Many of the strategies discussed in this article are also useful in identifying behaviors that express attitudes and perceptions related to diversity.

The results of culturally relevant education cannot help but contribute to social participation and community solidarity on campus. We need a mechanism for allaying anxieties created by our apparent inability to predict and understand behavior that does not conform with our expectations. In higher education, awareness of learning processes enables better understanding of the behavior of others, thus enhancing interpersonal relations. Particularly important is the recognition that when people of diversity react differently, they do not do so from stupidity or malice. Getting to know people of diversity and color is a necessary prelude to understanding and respect, but such knowledge alone does not resolve our differences or insure our liking people whose ways are alien to us (Brown, 1986).

A university with interest in and commitment to the academic success of diverse students must assist its majority faculty members in developing pedagogy appropriate to the affective and cognitive needs of all students, as well as an awareness of the ways in which their relationships with minority students can be strengthened. Moreover, there must be a willingness to institutionalize curricular modifications, academic support services, and, in general, a campus ambience that is conducive to furthering academic excellence. It is the responsibility, both moral and intellectual, of colleges and universities to (a) initiate faculty development in pedagogical skills that will provide equal access to learning in the classroom; (b) weave minority students into the fabric of the institution; and (c) meaningfully integrate minority scholarship into the curriculum. A university or college that wishes to be viewed as egalitarian has a responsibility to provide equal access to high quality education for all of its constituents.

As nonminorities learn more about minority cultures--how they are integrated, their historical and evolutionary development, processes of cultural change, and the structuring of learning environments--educators can become increasingly useful in facilitating change concerning the

understanding and direction of intergroup relations within the academic community.

The challenge to educators, then, consists of continually identifying emergent issues of diversity and developing the best possible educational processes to enable the university community to contribute to "setting things right." The intellectual recognizes that all needs cannot be met immediately, but a start can be made, even if modest. The real task is to begin to bridge the gap that exists between a diverse student population and the predominantly Anglo, male-dominated university. Educators can do this by attempting to understand the concerns of minority students and to deal with those concerns in the classroom.

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"Whole-Souled" Teaching and the State of American Education

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Eudora Welty has long been a great American storyteller. In 1983 she was invited to Harvard University to give the Massey Lectures in the History of American Civilization. The result was a small gem of a book about Welty's growing up in Jackson, Mississippi. It is called *One Writer's Beginnings* (1985). Among the colorful characters who shaped those origins was a dedicated schoolteacher named Miss Duling. She had moved to Jackson from Kentucky to become the principal of the Jefferson Davis Grammar School, which Welty entered when she was 5. Looking back, Welty describes Miss Duling as "a lifelong subscriber to perfection, . . . a figure of authority, the most whole-souled I have ever come to know" (pp. 24-25). Her pay was scant, no different from the educational funding provided by the Mississippi Legislature. The challenge to educate children in spite of those obstacles, Welty thinks, was what brought Miss Duling to Jackson. Once there, her presence in the community was a presence indeed. Welty's estimate of it deserves quoting at length.

> In the long run [Miss Duling] came into touch, as teacher or principal, with three generations of Jacksonians. My parents had not, but everybody else's parents had gone to school to her. She'd taught most of our leaders somewhere along the line. When she wanted something done--some civic oversight corrected, some injustice made right overnight, or even a tree spared that the fool telephone people were about to cut down--she telephoned the mayor, or the chief of police,

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> or the president of the power company, or the head doctor at the hospital, or the judge in charge of a case, or whoever, and calling them by their first names, *told* them. It is impossible to imagine her meeting with anything less than compliance. The ringing of her brass bell from their days at Davis School would be in their ears. She also proposed a spelling match between the fourth grade at Davis School and the Mississippi Legislature, who went through with it; and that told the Legislature.
>
> Her standards were very high and of course inflexible, her authority was total; why *wouldn't* this carry with it a brass bell that could be heard ringing for a block in all directions? The bell belonged to the figure of Miss Duling as though it grew directly out of her right arm, as wings grew out of an angel or a tail out of the devil. When we entered, marching, into her school, by strictest teaching, surveillance, and order we learned grammar, arithmetic, spelling, reading, writing, and geography; and she, not the teachers, I believe, wrote out the examinations: need I tell you, they were "hard." (pp. 25-26)

If it works for you as it does for me, Welty's affectionate word picture of Miss Duling is a reminder of educators who have been part of our beginnings too. People like that help to explain why some of us became teachers and scholars and why we care deeply about the state of education in the United States.

Welty suggests that she loves Miss Duling in writing about her but not exactly "in life," as she puts it. The summer happiness of her childhood, in fact, had something to do with Miss Duling's being on vacation "far, far away in Kentucky." Nonetheless, Welty pays her tribute. In our own ways, we do as well. One reason, I expect, is because we wonder what has become of Miss Duling and her kind.

It is safe to say that life around the Jefferson Davis Grammar School is not what it used to be. Unlike then, for example, the school is probably multiracial now. Drugs and broken homes give places like Jackson a "civil war" style that might be tough even on a teacher with Miss Duling's fiber. A paucity of school funding may not be much different, but today there is a labyrinth of educational bureaucracy, curricular innovation, and law where hardly anything existed before. In Miss Duling's administration, *Sesame Street* did not exist. Neither did Headstart programs. No one had heard of latchkey kids. Day care needed no name, because mothers provided it. Welty eventually found her way to the University of Wisconsin, but it is unlikely that many of her Jefferson Davis peers took routes like that. Nobody measured the performance of Miss Duling's school by its ability to make us winners in military competition or economic rivalry.

To the best of my knowledge, no educational summit conference--replete with presidential rhetoric decrying "mediocrity, social decay and national decline" and urging, "from this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, of higher goals, and a land of bigger dreams"--occurred in Miss

Duling's day. When President George Bush and the nation's governors staged such a conference at the University of Virginia in late September 1989, it targeted seven broad areas of concern: the readiness of children to start school; achievement on international tests; the dropout rate; illiteracy; training of the work force; the supply of qualified teachers; and establishment of safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools. Some, though perhaps not all, of those items would have surprised, if not shocked, Miss Duling.

On the other hand, she would have been neither shocked nor satisfied to learn that Becki Robinson, a 20-year veteran of Los Angeles elementary school classrooms, found the unprecedented summit underwhelming as she continues to battle the fiscal paucity of American education policy. That paucity, Robinson suggested to the *Los Angeles Times*, boils down to the fact that much of the equipment and supplies in her classroom are "things I bought myself, or that I begged, borrowed and stole, or that were castoffs from other teachers." At the time Robinson was interviewed, her classroom had a computer--Miss Duling knew nothing of them--but the computer was broken, and the funds to fix it were lacking. Miss Duling's pre-World War I educational situation was different, simpler, than the one that prevails today. All the more so, then, the question that challenged her--how to make significant learning happen, even when the odds are not too favorable?--remains ours still.

That fact has much to do with the 1989 findings of the fourth survey of college faculty conducted during the past 20 years by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Three quarters of the surveyed professors reported that undergraduates at their institutions are seriously underprepared in terms of basic skills. Two thirds thought that colleges and universities have to spend too much time and money teaching students what they should have learned in high school, before entering college, a proportion that was identical to the one found 5 years earlier.

Many of us would echo those findings. In my own case, I regret that my students are ill prepared in history. Many are also religiously illiterate. In particular, I wish they knew more about Jewish and Christian scripture. Having lived in Asia, I also believe that we need to devote greater attention to that part of the world, as well as to mathematics and science. The problem we face in education, however, is that there are insufficient dollars and hours and even persons to do everything that needs doing. We must direct our attention toward remedying that situation. But it also needs saying that educational institutions alone cannot solve all of the problems we face. The dilemmas of those institutions mirror problems at large in American culture as a whole.

To illustrate some of what I mean by that statement, consider an article by Terence P. Paré in the June 5, 1989, issue of *Fortune*. It is called "The Uncommitted Class of 1989." I read this article with special interest when it first appeared, because Paré had interviewed me at some length as part of his writing preparation. Paré's study led him to conclude not only that the men

and women in the class of 1989 are confident, ambitious, and smart; they are also out for themselves, but with a twist, namely, that their worst fear is commitment.

I have been seeing this configuration in my own students for several years, but Paré drew a rather different conclusion from the profile than I did. He took an optimistic view, arguing that "seldom have the personal attitudes of a graduating class meshed so neatly with the needs of business." I am glad that these young people are willing to work hard, but I am less than thrilled to see that their commitment is so much to themselves individually to the extent that it exists at all. To that end, they are the masters of the throwaway conversation--"talk smack" it is called, according to Paré--in which one woos prospective employers with what they want to hear, believing as little of it as necessary. In sum, being committed is far less important than being cagey. That scenario, I suspect, would not please Miss Duling very well, because, to use Welty's word, "whole-souled" persons and the learning that can produce them are not likely to flourish within it.

Whole-souled education involves something old-fashioned. That "something" is connected to the character that led Miss Duling to keep in touch with her students, to ring them up, to speak to them by their first names, expecting compliance, when, as Welty put it, there was some civic oversight that needed correction, some injustice that needed setting right. I refer to a sense of calling or vocation. It has to do with the idea--it is religious though not exclusively so--that one's life is supposed to contribute to the common good, the public interest. Most of us who have made a career of education, or who care deeply about it, know something about this sense of calling or vocation: One of our tasks as educators is to nurture it.

That is easier said than done, of course, and some contemporary critics of education would say they know at least some of the reasons why. Take, for instance, Sykes and his provocative book, *ProfScam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education* (1988). Muckraking in the groves of academe, Sykes minces no words. His citation of H. L. Mencken's recipe to reverse the demise of higher education in the United States--burn the buildings, hang the professors--is just the beginning. The journalist son of a professor, Sykes may tone down Mencken's prescription, but not the diagnosis that provoked it. He credits Mencken for identifying, as few critics have done before or since, that "the rot at the heart" of higher education belongs to "the real villain of the piece: the American university professor" (Sykes, 1988, pp. 3-4).

As it follows Mencken's lead, Sykes' indictment, a scathing 300-plus pages, is not short and sweet. Its bite, however, can be set more briefly: According to Sykes, professors are overpaid and underworked. Especially lamentable, their flight from teaching makes undergraduate students the orphans of higher education. The undergraduate's learning depends too much on less-than-adequate part-timers, if not on the often less-than-intelligible dialects of graduate teaching assistants who hail increasingly from overseas.

When professors do teach, Sykes reckons, their frequently egregious efforts go unpenalized. But anyone who receives an award for good teaching should be wary, particularly if he or she lacks tenure, for "in the modern university, no good act of teaching goes unpunished" (Sykes, 1988, p. 54). According to Sykes, the punishment follows because the most influential professors believe that teaching impedes the academy's really important work; its name--*Research*--is sacred. Such an outcome would not be so completely deplorable if the research done by the American professoriate were more helpful. To Sykes, however, most of it is "junkthink," written in a tongue deservingly dubbed "profspeak." Jargon-filled, stupefying volumes bloat libraries but have little redeeming social value--except, of course, to the professors themselves. Their publication lists become keys to the kingdom of academic promotion and prestige.

Too long ago, argues Sykes, *Professorus Americanus* contracted a cancerous self-interest. Its spread is extremely hard to check, let alone to cure, because professors--academic opportunists that they are--have taken over virtually every aspect of higher education. Administrators can ill afford faculty wrath; their jobs hang in the balance. Nor can individual students or their paying parents do much to correct abuses when professorial authority reigns supreme. Even trustees, boards of regents, state governors and legislators, to say nothing of countless private fund-granting sources, have gone along with an insatiable professoriate that never fails to claim it needs more support to accomplish what, in fact, amounts to less--research at the expense of teaching.

Sykes' remedy for this dreary condition, more benign than Mencken's, is not to hang the professors but to rehabilitate the "profscamming" rascals by holding them responsible and making them accountable. To that end, he urges, nothing is more important than puncturing the "research myth," for, Sykes is convinced, "the notion that research is essential for good teaching is a discredited fiction" (Sykes, 1988, p. 257). What is more, tenure should be abolished, and professors should be required, by state law if necessary, to teach a specified number of hours each term. That teaching, in turn, should center "without apology . . . on the intellectual tradition of Western civilization" (p. 260). Trustees, legislators, and funding agencies should insist on and support administrators who have the guts and gumption to rescue higher education from the corrupting self-interest of its faculties. Last, but by no means least, parents and students should organize a watchdog consumer union to monitor educational quality.

What should be made of Sykes' sound and fury? Does it signify nothing? Probably the wisest course is to take *ProfScam* for the polemic it is. A polemic aims to provoke controversy. Typically, however, a polemic differs from more carefully reasoned debate by resorting to one-sided analysis, overgeneralization, and the use of selectively collected data and anecdotal evidence to support oversimplified conclusions. In addition, a polemic typically sports a surplus of cleverness while on the attack but possesses a paucity of insight when offering constructive policies.

All of those polemical flaws mar Sykes' book. To cite but four examples, the author mentions but says too little about the thousands of dedicated college and university professors who care very much about undergraduate students and teach them well--even in the largest public universities. Second, some professors may be underworked and overpaid, but any careful empirical analysis will reveal many who are overworked and underpaid. Third, while Sykes raises legitimate questions about research--particularly whether it has become the tail that wags the dog, if not the whole animal where much of higher education is concerned--he underplays the fact that no good teaching is likely to stay good unless professors receive the nourishment that only their own research, and the sharing of it with other scholars, can provide. Fourth, he exaggerates the degree to which the professor is driven not by the love of learning and the yearning to share what has been learned but by selfish career ambitions.

If *Professorus Americanus* needs correction, so does Sykes. Without correction, his book will do more harm than good. That result would be too bad, because his account in *ProfScam* is not the bitter tirade of a cranky anti-intellectual. On the contrary, it is a passionate--at times marvelously witty--expression of love by one who learned from his professor-father that criticism can improve education by making professors better than they are.

It will be tempting for professors to think that Sykes is the one who deserves the hanging, but his fate should be better than that Although his polemical arrows may rarely hit the bull's-eye, few of them, unfortunately, miss the target completely. Undergraduates are too much ignored in American higher education. The research that professors do is not all it is cracked up to be. How research can best improve the quality of teaching deserves more attention too. If Sykes' mirror distorts the image of American professors, it does not do so beyond telling recognition. There must be a sifting and sorting more judicious than *ProfScam*'s polemic provides, but professors especially should let Sykes hang around long enough to provoke thoughtful consideration of his indictment. If that happens, and sound action follows, all who care about higher education in the United States should be able to join Sykes in drawing his final conclusion: "Help is on the way."

If help is on the way, that possibility leads back to a parenthetical remark Welty makes near the end of her *Beginnings*:

> As certain as I was of wanting to be a writer, I was certain of *not* wanting to be a teacher. I lacked the instructing turn of mind, the selflessness, the patience for teaching, and I had the unreasoning feeling that I'd be trapped. The odd thing is that when I did come to write my stories, the longest list of my characters turns out to be schoolteachers. They are to a great extent my heroines. (p. 89)

There are still plenty of chances for teachers to be heroic like that. To the extent that they are, the state of education in the United States can have

worthwhile beginnings--maybe it can even become whole-souled--in this year or in any yet to come.

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Sign What You Say: An Interactive Approach to Language Learning

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The Basic Sign Language I and II curriculum at Miami University introduces students to approximately 700 signs and 12 principles of sign language grammar in two semesters. A unique feature of these courses is that they are taught using the Direct Experience Method (DEM). DEM is based on the philosophy and principles of second language teaching developed from research by Quinsland and Mallery (1977) conducted at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. Traditional sign language instruction usually requires students to memorize vocabulary lists and grammatical structures and to imitate teacher demonstration of signs. But DEM allows a natural, conversational approach to learning sign language. This article will describe the teaching strategies of DEM and the modifications made to accommodate college-level classes.

With DEM, vocabulary is organized by concepts or topics. Dialogues and practice exercises in each unit encourage student interaction and conversation. Sign vocabulary is practiced in sentence context to illustrate how sign meaning might influence production and use (Caccamise, Basile, Mitchell, & Martin, 1978). DEM was designed for classes of 15 or fewer students, but classes at Miami University usually range between 25 and 35 students; therefore, DEM had to be modified to accommodate a larger class. One modification was that the new signs in each unit were put into sentences and recorded on videotape. The videotapes are available for use outside of class with the requirement that students learn the signs prior to each class. Thus, class time is devoted to practice and review. Another modification for the larger class was the production of color overheads that display new signs in purposeful dialogues. With these transparencies and other visual aids, such as pictures and real objects, a scene can be created to elicit a concept in the learner's mind before labeling it in sign. Strict second language learning approaches eliminate

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exposure to the learner's first language while studying or practicing the second (target) language (Newell, 1981). However, because American Sign Language has no written component, DEM cannot exclude English transcriptions.

Instructional Principles of DEM

The basic principles of this type of instruction are as follows (Newell, 1983):

1. *Use of the target language* totally immerses the student in signs. No voice or lip movements are allowed during the introduction of new signs.
2. *Cumulative and sequential structuring* of content allows learning and using vocabulary, grammar, and prosodic features in sequenced steps.
3. *Emphasis of conversational fluency* insures that students see expressive signing with the normal modification, reduction, and emphasis of each sign that occurs because of context considerations.
4. *Self-generated language and active student participation* are insured by activities that require either physically doing something requested by the instructor or responding to a signed utterance of the teacher.
5. *Receptive skill accompanies expressive skill* through development of initial receptive skills with active mental and physical participation. This may account for the ease with which many students retain signs.

Instructional Strategies of DEM

The following five-step process is used in the beginning of the course to introduce vocabulary and interrogatives (referred to as key questions, e.g., who, what, where).

Step 1. Identify the object using an illustration or the real object.

Step 2. Make a positive statement about the object, such as, "This is a book."

Step 3. Ask a question leading to a positive answer, and supply the answer, for example, "Is this a book? Yes, this is a book."

Step 4. Ask questions leading to a negative answer, and supply the answer, for instance, "Is this a book?" (pointing to a chair) "No, this is not a book."

Step 5. Introduce the interrogative by asking "What is this?" while pointing to an object.

This may appear to be a meaningless series of dialogues, but in fact, the student is introduced to seven grammatical constructions and learns new vocabulary. The grammatical constructions include word order in American Sign Language, positive statement, question form, positive and negative answer, and an interrogative.

Results

Preliminary data collected from 25 junior-level students enrolled in the beginning sign language course indicate the success of DEM strategies.

Pretests administered during the first class showed that most students knew some sign alphabet letters but no vocabulary or grammar. Two DEM units that included 44 signs and 11 sign principles (e.g., negation, affirmation, and facial expression) were introduced in two sequential class periods. An evaluation of receptive vocabulary using a flash card test and a sentence expression test to check ability to sign connected language was then administered. Overall scores ranged from 86% to 100% (M = 92%). Thus, after two sign language classes, students were able to comprehend and sign simple sentences such as "Nice to meet you" and "What is your name?"

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Promoting Minority Student Involvement at the University: Collegial Coaching Support

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Two interrelated needs were identified as the focus of this instructional improvement project: (a) greater student involvement and (b) a system to encourage and support faculty in expanding their instructional techniques to include greater student involvement. Two major deterrents to student involvement were present in the university setting of this research: First, the students represented a culturally diverse population, many of whom are "withdrawal prone" or passive in academic settings; and second, the predominant lecture method of teaching did not encourage student involvement.

Student Involvement

Higher education has been criticized for its failure to involve students actively in the learning process (Association of American Colleges, 1985; Bok, 1986; Boyer, 1987; National Institute of Education, 1984). The literature emphasizes the positive relationship between student involvement and student learning (McKeachie, 1988; McKeachie, Pintrich, Lin, & Smith, 1986). Studies and practice indicate that student participation is correlated with achievement (Astin, 1985; Dansereau, 1983). Adler (1982) concludes that all

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genuine learning is active, not passive. It involves the use of the mind, not just rote memory. Active teaching strategies add another dimension to learning, changing the emphasis from memorizing information to evaluating, interpreting, and applying it (Dienhart, 1988). Empirical research shows the importance of active involvement in promoting critical thinking. A comprehensive review of the teaching and learning literature by McKeachie et al. (1986) emphasizes the positive relationship between student participation and improved critical thinking.

Instructor Behaviors and Expectations of Minority Students

Research indicates that faculty have lower expectations of minority students (Kerman, Kimball, & Martin, 1980; Wilson, 1981). Perhaps this is due to the faculty's belief that many minority students are admitted only because of affirmative action guidelines and are not really prepared for college study (Melendez, 1988). A number of minority students believe that faculty have lower expectations of them (Wilson, 1981) and avoid contact with them (Gonzalez, 1982; Hall & Allen, 1983). Studies indicate that faculty members have less interaction, both in and out of class, with minority students than they do with nonminority students (Mingle, 1978) and that they behave differently toward minority students in class (Trujillo, 1986).

In the typical college classroom, four to five salient students occupy 75% of the instructor's time (Karp & Yoels, 1987). More often than not, the salient person is male, White, a member of the high or upper-middle socioeconomic class, and a native speaker of English. Although instructors do not consciously treat minority students differentially, student limitations are implied in subtle ways by the instructor's behavior. Despite the fact that overt stereotyping has decreased, subtle expectancies persist and are apparent in the frequency and quality of instructor-minority student class interactions.

It has been estimated that in the average class someone is usually talking and at least two thirds of the time it is the instructor. Furthermore, many instructors seldom allow adequate time for a student to formulate an answer to a question; the average wait time is less than two seconds. Barnes (1983) observed that 66% of all instructor questions call for use of memory or lower-level thinking skills. This practice does not encourage intelligent responses or student involvement.

Researchers have explored the effect of cultural diversity on students' willingness or opportunity to participate actively. It appears that there is considerable reluctance on the part of minority students, particularly those whose primary language is other than English, to participate in class. It has been suggested further that active involvement in the learning experience is essential for minority students who view their role as passive receivers (Astin, Astin, Bisconti, & Frankel, 1972). This clearly indicates the importance of structuring instructional activities that promote purposeful interaction and involvement.

Faculty Support

The opportunity for a faculty member to explore new instructional strategies, refine teaching practices, and receive objective collegial feedback often is a self-initiated, unstructured procedure. It is not unusual for faculty members to function somewhat in isolation in regard to their instructional methodologies. Professional dialogue pertaining to teaching practices is usually minimal. The topic of instructional techniques seldom appears on departmental meeting agendas.

It is estimated that more than 80% of new faculty have had little or no teaching experience and no previous opportunity to study teaching-learning principles. As a result, they tend to teach as they were taught--with little student involvement. The majority of more experienced faculty members are not inclined to change or expand their methods of teaching.

Although a spirited, growing, collegial faculty is a product of many factors, studies suggest that information exchange about teaching may be increased by providing scheduled time for instructors to interact (Lacey, 1988). Because collegial exchange is an essential aspect of strong instructional programs, a more formal mechanism for support and collaboration among faculty is needed.

Project Description

Focus

The three major objectives of our project were (a) to expand faculty instructional techniques to encourage greater student involvement, (b) to implement a collegial coaching system wherein the instructional techniques were reinforced, and (c) to investigate the influence of the coaching process on instructional effectiveness as perceived by instructors and students.

The project centered on specific, observable teaching strategies designed to increase student involvement. Included were strategies that would afford students more frequent and equitable response opportunities, increase student acknowledgement and analytical feedback from the instructor, improve questioning skills, and stimulate high-involvement class activities. A series of workshops provided faculty with the opportunity to expand their instructional skills to meet the needs of a multiculturally diverse student population.

Collegial Coaching

In addition to videotaping and obtaining feedback from class sessions, the collegial coaching system provided peer support for faculty in implementing specific strategies. Instructors paired as partners devised a mutually agreeable observation plan prior to class observation. The observing faculty member

gathered classroom data, and together the partners analyzed and made judgments about student learning and involvement. The project director was available for consultation in the process.

Participants

Participants in the project included 7 faculty members (3 pairs and a project director), an independent evaluator, and 12 classes of 25-30 students each. The faculty were selected from the School of Business and Economics because of its diverse student population, composed of Asians, Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites. The faculty members also represented different cultures: two men from Iran, one man from Taiwan, one woman from China, and two women from the United States. The primary language of four of the six professors was other than English, and the majority of their formal education took place in their native countries.

The faculty members were responsible for participating in seven 3-hour workshops, a minimum of five collegial coaching events, and a minimum of five hours of videotaping. They also were required to prepare quarterly data questionnaires to assess the impact of their instructional behavior on student interaction. Pre- and post-coaching data were evaluated to determine the effect of the instructional strategies, faculty workshops, and collegial coaching process.

Results and Discussion

Three measures were used to assess the effect of collegial coaching on instructors' ability to promote active student involvement in the classroom: (a) faculty perceptions of the effectiveness of collegial coaching for enhancing their ability to promote active student involvement, (b) student perceptions of their level of active involvement in classes taught by instructors before and after instructor participation in the collegial coaching program, and (c) videotape analysis of instructors' classroom teaching behavior before and after their participation in the collegial coaching program. Results obtained from each of these measures are discussed below.

Faculty Perceptions of the Effectiveness of Collegial Coaching for Enhancing Their Ability to Promote Active Student Involvement

Each of the collegial coaching workshops was assessed by faculty via a 5-point Likert rating scale designed to measure faculty satisfaction with the workshop's content, its manner of delivery, and the likelihood that the workshop experience would result in changes in their teaching style.

Analysis of the ratings revealed an extremely high level of faculty satisfaction with all workshops. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 representing the highest rating, the overall mean rating for the workshops was 1.28. Analysis

of the responses of all faculty to each item on the evaluation inventory for all workshops conducted (a total of 180 responses) revealed that only once did a faculty member respond with an item rating of less than 2.

No significant differences emerged for item clusters pertaining to satisfaction with the workshop content, its manner of delivery, or its likelihood of producing teaching change. However, it should be noted that the mean rating given to items referring to the likelihood of producing teaching change, although very high (receiving an average rating of 2.13) was slightly lower than the mean rating given to items pertaining to satisfaction with the workshop content and its manner of delivery. This difference is not surprising, given that changing teaching behavior requires a demanding second step beyond workshop satisfaction: making a commitment of time and effort to translate a satisfying workshop experience into modification of a well-established teaching style. Previous research indicates that behavioral change is the most difficult objective for teaching improvement workshops to achieve (Joyce & Showers, 1983).

The lower average rating given to items pertaining to likelihood of teaching change for all workshops also suggests that a "halo effect" was not biasing the faculty's ratings; that is, faculty were not giving equally positive, socially acceptable responses to all items on the workshop evaluation instrument. The fact that faculty consistently responded differentially to those items referring to behavioral change suggests that faculty were rating each item independently and that the results generated by the evaluation instrument represent a valid index of faculty satisfaction with the workshop experience.

In addition to the Likert-scale ratings of all collegial coaching workshops, faculty perceptions of the collegial coaching program were obtained by asking them two open-ended questions at the completion of the project: What were some of the most beneficial aspects of the project for you? and What are some of the changes that you would suggest?

Positive comments outnumbered suggestions for change by a ratio of 2:1, and the following common themes emerged regarding beneficial aspects of the project:

1. Collegiality. Faculty repeatedly mentioned the value of having an opportunity to talk about teaching, to share ideas, and to engage in problem-solving discussions. This finding is consistent with a growing body of faculty development research documenting the positive effects of instructional development programs. For example, Lacey (1988) completed a review of faculty development programs and concluded that the most popular and effective seminars and workshops are those that "address practical needs and can result in tangible changes in the way faculty teach . . . . Some of the most valuable reported outcomes of successful workshops or seminars have to do with increased collegiality and better communication among faculty . . . and better communication comes as a by-product of working on matters of importance to us as teachers" (pp. 64-65).

2. *Opportunity to observe the classroom teaching of oneself and others.* Faculty found that viewing themselves on videotape, witnessing teaching practices modeled during workshops, and observing the classes of other faculty were particularly beneficial aspects of the coaching project.

3. *Exposure to new ideas and instructional strategies presented by faculty development professionals.* A number of faculty noted that the ideas they received from faculty development professionals who conducted the workshops were very helpful. Cited as especially useful were handouts provided by the workshop presenters and information on teaching styles and their effect on student learning.

These results are consistent with previous findings reported in the faculty development literature. For instance, following their comprehensive review of faculty development programs, Eble and McKeachie (1985) concluded, "When effectiveness of faculty development programs is measured by participation, instructional development activities (e.g., workshops, seminars) were most effective" (p. 205).

In response to the open-ended question asking for recommended changes in the program, two recurrent themes emerged:

1. *The need for more workshop time.* Faculty commented that new ideas and teaching strategies sometimes came too fast, and they wished there was more time to discuss other aspects of the educational process (e.g., assessment of student learning). Such findings suggest that the issue of college teaching is one that warrants comprehensive and continual discussion, perhaps in the form of an ongoing seminar conducted throughout the academic year.

2. *The need to look at institutional and departmental objectives and how the faculty's individual courses relate to these educational objectives.* Several faculty desired clarification of the goals of general education, the department's educational goals, and how each of these broader goals tie in with their particular course objectives. These findings are consistent with those reported by researchers in higher education (Gaff, 1980; Stark, 1989) and suggest that faculty development efforts aimed at improving the quality of college teaching should also involve administrators, such as academic deans and department chairs, who are responsible for guiding the mission of the college and the department. As Bergquist and Phillips (1975) point out, "If faculty development is systematically and patiently implemented as part of a comprehensive program of institutional renewal, it can have profound and lasting impact on the lives of faculty, their administrators, and their students" (pp. 265-266).

Student Perceptions of Their Level of Active Involvement in Classes Taught by Instructors Before and After Instructor Participation in the Collegial Coaching Program

This measure of the effect of the collegial coaching program involved the administration of a student-involvement questionnaire to students after they

completed courses taught by collegially coached faculty. Comparisons were made between the perceptions of students enrolled in classes taught by faculty before and after the faculty's involvement in the coaching program. Table 1 shows the results of the pre- to post-coaching comparisons for all faculty participants on each item of the student involvement questionnaire.

The data indicate that instructors were perceived by students to be more effective in supporting and promoting active student involvement *after* their participation in the collegial coaching program, and this difference appeared on every item in the student-involvement questionnaire. Moreover, the degree of difference in perceived effectiveness following faculty participation in the coaching program was substantial, reaching the .01 level of statistical significance for all comparisons.

These findings provide strong evidence for the effectiveness of the collegial coaching program in improving instructors' ability to promote active student involvement. Admittedly, this set of findings is based on students' self-reported perceptions of teacher behavior, and it could be argued that student perceptions may not reflect accurate assessments of actual teaching behavior. Although this argument has conceptual merit, empirical evidence indicates that students' perceptions of teacher behavior closely match the perceptions of trained observers attending the same class (Cranton & Hillgartner, 1981; Murray, 1983) and of more experienced evaluators, such as teaching assistants, graduating seniors, and alumni (Centra, 1974; Lamberth & Kosteski, 1981). Such research findings support the validity of student perceptions of teacher behavior in general and suggest that student perceptions gathered in the present study do represent an accurate assessment of instructors' classroom behavior.

Videotape Analysis of Instructors' Classroom Teaching Behavior Before and After Their Participation in the Collegial Coaching Program

Videotaping of classes allowed for direct observation of changes in teaching behavior that may have occurred as a result of faculty participation in the coaching program. One particular type of teaching behavior--questioning--was chosen as the focus of the videotape analysis. Specifically, instructors' questioning behavior was evaluated on three dimensions: (a) total number of questions posed by the teacher per unit of class time; (b) number of teacher-posed questions related to a specific concept, for example, "Have I made the concept of 'product differentiation' clear to you?" compared to the number of unfocused questions, such as, "Any questions at this time"?; and (c) number of *convergent* questions that required students to give one correct answer based on factual recall or rote memory, for instance, "What is the definition of 'product differentiation'"? compared to the number of *divergent* questions that had a number of possibly acceptable answers and required higher thinking skills, for example, "What might be some illustrations of 'product differentiation' among today's advertising practices?"

Table 1

Student Perceptions of Their Level of Active Involvement in Classes Taught by Instructors Before and After Instructor Participation in the Collegial Coaching Program (1 = Highest Rating; 5 = Lowest Rating)

Questionnaire Item	*Pre-Coaching (mean rating)*	*Post-Coaching (mean rating)*
It was clear to me that the instructor valued student involvement in class.	2.44	1.13**
The instructor's questions effectively stimulated students to participate in class.	2.26	1.11**
The instructor made me feel comfortable about asking questions in class.	2.56	1.34**
The instructor made me feel comfortable about expressing my ideas in class.	2.62	1.93**
Only a small number of students actually participated in class.	*3.38	2.17**
There was opportunity for students to interact with other students in class.	3.28	2.32**
The instructor's testing and grading procedures encouraged students to work together outside of class.	3.50	2.33**

* This item was reverse-scored (e.g., 5 = 1, 4 = 2).
** Pre- to post-coaching difference is significant at $p < .01$.

Instructors' questioning behavior was chosen for coaching and analysis because questioning is a very effective and easily modifiable teacher behavior that can elicit student involvement in the classroom. Furthermore, previous research indicates that focused and divergent questions are significantly more effective in eliciting student responses and generating active participation in class than are unfocused and convergent questions (Andrews, 1980; Merlino, 1977).

Results of the videotape analyses of teachers' questioning behavior before and after their involvement in the coaching program revealed that instructors did not change the total number of questions they posed during class time. However, faculty displayed a slightly greater tendency toward asking focused questions after participating in the coaching program: 84% of their questions were focused, compared to 79% prior to coaching. Most revealing, however, was a dramatic increase in the number of divergent questions asked by instructors after their involvement in the coaching program: 57% of their questions were divergent, compared to only 27% prior to coaching.

These pre- to post-coaching differences in the style of teachers' questioning behavior, particularly in the proportion of divergent questions they delivered, provides direct and observable evidence supporting the effectiveness of the coaching program in producing positive change in teaching style. This behavioral evidence also reinforces the validity of the student perception data previously reported; that is, instructors who had completed the coaching program were perceived by students as more effective in promoting student involvement. Videotape analysis corroborates this perception by revealing that there were actual differences in teacher behavior following the coaching experience.

Conclusion

Positive effects of the collegial coaching program were found across three different evaluation methods (faculty perceptions, student perceptions, and classroom observations). This cross-method convergence of findings supports the conclusion that the results reported are not merely an artifact of the evaluation procedures employed, but represent bona fide evidence supporting the effectiveness of collegial coaching. The positive impact of coaching found in this study is consistent with previous literature reviews and meta-analyses of research on the effectiveness of instructional development programs for improving college teaching (Cohen, 1981; Lacey, 1988; Levinson-Rose & Menges, 1981; Menges & Brinko, 1986).

What differentiates the present study from most existing research on instructional improvement programs is its exclusive focus on and improvement of one specific element of effective instruction: promoting active student involvement in the classroom. This element of college instruction recently has received strong empirical support as being essential for promoting meaningful learning and developing critical thinking (McKeachie,

1988; McKeachie et al., 1986). Yet recent national commissions and task forces have reported an absence of active student involvement in higher education (Boyer, 1987; Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in Higher Education, 1984). Thus, the major finding reported in the present study, which points to the effectiveness of collegial coaching for its specific impact on promoting active student involvement in the college classroom, is particularly relevant to the contemporary literature on college teaching and faculty development.

The chief limitation of the present study is the size and composition of its sample population. The data were gathered on a small number of faculty (6) and a relatively small number of students (12 classes of 25-30 students each). Further, the study involved courses representing only one major academic discipline, business, with six subconcentrations: accounting, economics, finance and law, information systems, management, and office systems and business education. Thus, generalizations from the present study should be made with caution until its findings are replicated with larger and more diverse samples of teachers, students, and academic subjects.

Further research also will be needed to determine what specific component(s) of collegial coaching accounted for its overall effectiveness. In this study, there was evidence that the collegial coaching program had a positive impact on one key aspect of teaching effectiveness: promoting active student involvement. However, the coaching program was multifaceted, incorporating a number of component procedures, including small group workshops, videotape review of one's own teaching in conjunction with individual coaching from the project director, and pairing of faculty peers to discuss teaching issues and to observe each other's classes. The totality of these experiences had a beneficial effect, but further research is needed to "tease out" the relative effectiveness of each of these procedures for promoting positive change in teacher behavior. Another question that remains unanswered by the present investigation is what impact the coaching program had on student behavior in the classroom. For example, did the quantity and quality of students' classroom questions or contributions improve as a result of their teachers' involvement in the collegial coaching program? Did faculty participation in the coaching program increase their ability to elicit more active participation from students whose ethnicity and cultural characteristics have been associated historically with reticence or passivity in classroom?

In the original design of this study, we planned to assess whether collegial coaching might be especially effective in promoting instructors' ability to reach such reticent students. However, because of technical problems in the positioning and maneuverability of cameras, we were unable to test this hypothesis by videotaping student and teacher behavior simultaneously. Future research in which student and teacher behavior are taped concurrently, allowing for simultaneous, split-screen analysis, would advance the videotaping methodology used in the present study and provide valuable

information on how students' classroom behavior changes as a function of change in teacher behavior.

While acknowledging the methodological limitations of the present investigation, the program's positive impact on participating faculty, evidenced consistently across different evaluative measures, does provide sufficient preliminary evidence to suggest several institutional strategies for promoting the quality of college instruction. Implications of the present study for enhancing college teaching and faculty development include the following:

1. Offer frequently scheduled instructional development seminars for faculty that provide comprehensive coverage of the key elements of effective college teaching such as course planning and design, teaching methods, assessment, and evaluation of student performance.

A recurring theme in the faculty's evaluation of the coaching program was their desire for more time to discuss teaching issues in greater depth and wider breadth. This suggests that faculty would be receptive to regularly scheduled seminars on college teaching conducted throughout the academic year. As an incentive to devoting time and effort to seminar participation, faculty could be offered some reduction in teaching load, suspension of committee work, or a moratorium on publication requirements during the semester(s) that they are involved in the coaching program.

First-year faculty in particular would profit from such seminars, because they may be most receptive to new ideas and most likely to adopt innovative methods into their still-formative teaching repertoire. A large number of new faculty positions are anticipated during the 1990s because of an increase in faculty reaching retirement age (Bowen & Schuster, 1986). Thus, a series of coaching seminars offered to first-year instructors, perhaps as part of a new faculty orientation program, might represent an ideal proactive faculty development strategy that could improve the future quality of college teaching.

2. Utilize a number of coaches in the program so that its institutional impact will be more pervasive or systemic.

If the positive effect of the collegial coaching program was not peculiar to the faculty and academic disciplines involved in the present project, we can infer that the program would have significant benefits for large numbers of faculty in a wide variety of subject areas. In order to expose the faculty at large to the benefits of collegial coaching, a cadre of effective coaches would have to be established. One way to do this would be to train program participants to become coaches themselves; in effect, those who have been coached successfully in the program then serve as coaches for other faculty. This could result in a coaching network that would have a more pervasive influence on the institution's teaching effectiveness than one faculty development director could ever achieve alone.

Department chairs in particular would be ideal candidates for the coaching cadre. Their participation in the program would enable the benefits of collegial coaching to be "farmed out" to all academic divisions within the college. It

would also serve a valuable faculty development purpose for department chairs: assisting them in their responsibility for evaluating and promoting instructional skills.

3. Establish mentoring programs for faculty.

When faculty participating in the collegial coaching program were asked to respond to an open-ended question on the program's benefits, they frequently cited the benefit of having a faculty peer with whom they could interact regularly and intimately. Research on career development has pointed to the importance of a socially supportive mentor for promoting professional success (Levinson, 1978). Unfortunately, this mentoring process does not seem to occur naturally or develop spontaneously among faculty in higher education (Turner & Boice, 1987, April). Research on new faculty in particular indicates that they are frustrated by the low level of collegiality they experience with senior faculty, and the frustration of their collegial expectations is a major source of professional dissatisfaction for beginning professors (Fink, 1984; Turner & Boice, 1987).

These previous research findings, coupled with the benefits of having a coaching peer as reported in the present investigation, seem to suggest that a formal mentoring program--for example, one in which a new faculty member is paired with a senior professor who is an effective teacher and coach--may be a very promising strategy for enhancing faculty collegiality, professional growth, and the quality of college teaching.

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Dramas of Persuasion: Utilizing Performance in the Classroom

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Miami University's School of Interdisciplinary Studies has a unique mission, as described in its divisional plan, to "extend in a deliberately innovating manner Miami's historic commitment to liberal education and career preparation in a residential environment." A sequential, interdisciplinary core curriculum of 64 credit hours is required of all majors. In addition, architecture majors participate in the residential program during their first year and take all first-year core courses to fulfill their University Requirements.

The core curriculum is divided into three areas: social sciences, natural sciences, and arts and humanities (also called the "creativity and culture" core). The curriculum is designed so that students will encounter more than one academic field as part of a synthetic approach to social, scientific, and artistic questions. Each course is team taught in a format of weekly lectures to large groups combined with small seminars of 20 to 25 students.

A distinctive feature of the core curriculum is its discussion-based teaching and the active involvement of students. As noted in the divisional plan,

> Through an interdisciplinary liberal arts core curriculum, the program fosters active engagement with the world of ideas, emphasizing the role of the learner as teacher of self and others. With a faculty willing to challenge themselves and their students to search for assumptions underlying various disciplinary approaches, the program particularly assists students in developing critical thinking skills.

The program supports students and faculty "in developing skills and personal traits that can enable them to play a role in shaping their environments, as well as to become more aware of how they are shaped by their environments."

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In the spring of 1989, Eugene W. Metcalf and I team taught the Creativity and Culture course to 130 first-year students. He and I had met the previous term to determine our objectives for the course. Metcalf, with a doctorate in comparative American cultures from the University of California, has a special interest in folk art. My doctorate in performance studies from New York University combined an interest in anthropology with a focus in performance theory. I am also a performer, director, and improvisation instructor with a particular pedagogical interest in utilizing performance and other active examinations of theory as a fundamental learning strategy. We identified the broad area of behavior and environment as one of shared interest and began to shape our course. In this article, I will describe some of the strategies and results of the approaches we created.

Course Format

Metcalf and I chose the semester topic, "Ritual, Play, and Expressive Behavior," and devised a course that would examine how people express and understand themselves and others "through creating and maintaining the behavioral and physical environments in which they live" (course syllabus). We placed emphasis on those environments that bestow special meaning on human experience through their use as venues for the enactment of key cultural rituals, play behaviors, and performances. A wide range of weekly topics--a "menu" of behavior--included examinations of shamanism, football, shopping malls, subway art, Appalachian snake handlers, cricket games in the Trobriand Islands, estate sales, and punk culture, to name a few.

Readings and classroom work were interdisciplinary in both material and approach, utilizing, for example, anthropological documentation of the shamans of Nepal, or psychological materials on the nature of play, in combination with active, performance-based workshops designed to explore the expressive possibilities of these behaviors. Workshop activities were drawn from a variety of performance-based exercises I've gathered over my years in theatre, and were chosen to highlight, extend, or explain certain theoretical issues raised in the readings. Metcalf and I wished to increase our students' awareness of, and appreciation for, the wide range of interdisciplinary tools available for understanding human behavior. We also wished to introduce and explore the idea that experience may be a useful and important way to understand theory.

We met as a large group for 50 minutes once a week, to view films or listen to a lecture. The following day, Metcalf and I each met three seminar groups of 20 to 24 students for 100 minutes each. We usually combined our sections for workshop experiences and met separately for discussions. Workshops were held in a dormitory lounge, with furniture pushed to the sides. Classroom sessions were in the basement, with desks and chalkboards.

Performing Ethnography

The notion of combining theory and practice in the classroom first came to my attention in 1982, when anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner published the results of a methodology they called "performing ethnography" in *The Drama Review*. Turner wanted to introduce his anthropology students to ethnographic accounts of varying cultures and to the array of shared cultural understandings of behavior these describe. The Turners sought performance projects and experiences that would

> aid students' understanding of how people in other cultures experience the richness of their social existence, what the moral pressures are upon them, what kinds of pleasures they expect to receive as reward for following certain patterns of action, and how they express joy, grief, deference, and affection, in accordance with cultural expectations. (1982, p. 33)

They devised workshops in which students could "try on" behavior and acquire kinetic understandings of other sociocultural groups.

The Turners found that social or ritual dramas such as puberty rites or marriage ceremonies were particularly successful. Such performances required students to put the event in a dramatic frame as well as to connect what they were doing with ethnographic knowledge in order to make sense of the scripts they used. "The actor's 'inside view,' engendered in and through performance, became a powerful critique of how ritual and ceremonial structures are cognitively presented" (Turner & Turner, 1982, p. 34). The Turners discovered that "by posing the functionally familiar against the culturally exotic in the dynamics of social drama, we can make our students vividly aware both of innate commonalities and cultural differences in relation to a wide range of human societies" (1982, p. 48).

I also encountered materials from Myerhoff's work on secular ritual (1977). Myerhoff examined the ways in which rituals are embodied, literally learned in the body, as a set of behaviors or actions that gradually shape one's views or attitudes about a set of beliefs or values. In Myerhoff's view,

> ritual is an act or actions intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more actions in a repetitive, formal, precise, highly stylized fashion. Action is indicated because rituals persuade the body first; behaviors precede emotions in the participants. (1977, p. 199)

I began to construct ideas for a course that would place students physically, consciously, emotionally--experientially--into areas of study such as ritual or play in order to uncover deeper meanings and personal understandings of these phenomena.

Ritual, Decorum, and Behavior

The first few weeks of Metcalf's and my class were devoted to introductory exercises and materials on ritual. Students read, for example, portions of Grimes' *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (1982), which suggests that ritual is a form of symbolic action composed primarily of gestures (the enactment of evocative rhythms that constitute dynamic symbolic acts) and postures (a symbolic stilling of action). These actions, according to Grimes, are inescapably and integrally related to everyday action and may oscillate between randomness and formality. In Grimes' view, ritual represents "a rhythmic response to the patternings and events which precede and define us" (1982, p. 39).

Grimes divides ritual into six modes: ritualization, decorum, ceremony, liturgy, magic, and celebration, explaining, "I regard these, not so much as types of ritual, as sensibilities, or embodied attitudes, that may arise in the course of a ritual" (1982, p. 36). Decorum, for our workshop's purposes, became the most interesting aspect of ritual. Grimes notes, for example, that "occasions such as greeting, leave-taking, and socializing are marked, facilitated, and complicated by the use of formulaic language and stereotypical gestures" (1982, p. 40). Such decorum is essentially conventionalized behavior that is also rhythmic and responsive.

To examine these concepts of ritual and decorum, I asked students to walk around in the workshop space and greet one another in as wide a range of appropriate behaviors as they could imagine. Students experimented with shaking hands, eye contact, high fives, shoulder slapping, bows, and other decorous forms of greeting. They tried a variety of verbal greetings and farewells, including "Good morning. How are you?" "Fine, thank you, and you?" or "Goodbye. It was nice to meet you." "Let's get together again." They soon learned, as Grimes observes, that "what is distinctive about ritual decorum is its courteous formalization and stylization" (1982, p. 40).

Metcalf then suggested that students form pairs and try different levels of greeting. We experimented with the forms of greeting that occur between strangers, acquaintances, and best friends. We added time factors, such as "This is your best friend whom you haven't seen in a week," "This is an acquaintance you saw earlier today." We also looked at ways of separating, for example, "Say goodbye to your best friend, knowing that you will not see him or her again until the end of the semester," "Say goodbye to the stranger, hoping that you will see him/her again soon," "Say goodbye to your acquaintance, hoping that you *don't* see this person again for awhile," and so on. We explored different greetings based on rank and age. "What if the stranger to whom you are saying goodbye is a potential employer?" "What if your acquaintance is a professor?"

Finally, we suggested that the students pay attention to gender differences in greeting ceremonies. How do two women greet one another? We asked a pair to demonstrate. How do two men greet one another? Another demonstration. Then we asked the students to reverse their gender. If they

were men, they were to greet one another as women might, and vice versa. The exaggerated stereotypes that emerged were predictable, but nevertheless revealed symbolic levels of social identity. As Grimes notes, "Decorum is a way of displaying our roles, statuses, and interpersonal intentions. It is also a way of affirming sociability itself" (1982, p. 41). We discovered that, although much of our decorum is invisible to us in everyday life, carefully designed workshop experiences can reveal it for our assessment and consideration.

Learning to Play; Playing to Learn

Following two weeks of introductory exercises and discussions, we read portions of Csikszentmihalyi's *Beyond Boredom and Anxiety: The Experience of Play in Work and Games* (1977), in which he describes a quality of intense absorption he calls "flow." Csikszentmihalyi defines flow as the "holistic sensation present when one acts with total involvement" (1977, p. 36). It is characterized chiefly by "a narrowing of the focus of awareness, so that irrelevant perceptions and thoughts are filtered out; by loss of self-consciousness; by a responsiveness to clear goals and unambiguous feedback; and by a sense of control over the environment" (1977, p. 72). We also read Huizinga's *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (1955) on the nature and significance of play.

For the workshop, Metcalf and I prepared the room for a variety of games: blackjack, arm wrestling, *Operation* (a children's box game), red light-green light, and *Pig Pong* (played with brightly colored plastic pigs that blow air out of their snouts when squeezed; players had to use them to blow a paper ball across a net). We divided the class into teams, drew lots for players, and announced that the teams would play these games for a *grade*. Needless to say, we had a particularly energetic class that day, with an abundance of yelling, cheering, pleading, and general exuberance.

The discussion at the workshop's conclusion, however, also revealed an enriched understanding of the nature and significance of play. Students had read, for example, that play stands "quite distinctly outside 'ordinary' life as being 'not serious,' but at the same time absorbs the player intensely and utterly"; it "proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner" (Huizinga, 1955, p. 13). In the workshop, they understood these concepts through their own experiences.

At one point, Metcalf intentionally cheated (quite shamelessly, I might add) during his turn as leader in red light-green light. In discussion afterward, we found that students had gained new insights into Huizinga's view of cheaters and spoilsports. Huizinga observes that the spoilsport, in refusing to play cooperatively, "reveals the relativity and fragility of the play-world," and "threatens the existence of the play-community" (1955, p. 11); thus, spoilsports are not tolerated. A cheater, on the other hand, who pretends to

play the game, often will be allowed to play so that other players can preserve the play world and their community of players.

We asked students why they endured Metcalf's cheating. Many said that they didn't want to break up the game. Others remarked that it was so much fun to play that it didn't matter, or that they didn't know they *could* challenge the leader. A few said it was because he was the instructor as well as the leader, indicating that two worlds--the play world and the work world--were functioning simultaneously. Huizinga says that play "demands order absolute and supreme. The least deviation from it 'spoils the game,' robs it of its character and makes it worthless" (1955, p. 10). Students *experienced* Huizinga's idea that maintaining the rules of order that make play possible is more important than either winning or challenging the leader. Moreover, they had *fun* making the discovery.

The notion that learning theoretical material could be fun amazed many of these first-year students. "I had so much fun in the class," one student remarked, "that I couldn't believe I was in college." Others hadn't realized that it was possible to experience the theories they had read. One remarked,

> The playing of a variety of games, what appeared to be silly games, was surprisingly successful. After the experience was over, I looked back at how I had experienced *flow* while trying to get a plastic object out of a cardboard box without buzzing the metal on the side. A game for ages 5 and up helped me to understand flow. Can you imagine that? I couldn't until that day.

Another said, "I had never really thought about what 'play' is. It was always just something I did." One student learned that "games are an intricate part of our society . . . [and] competition is central to our everyday lives."

Group Identity

These first few workshops established several important foundations for the class. They began to define the boundaries of the course and the themes of our investigation, providing a frame for the kinds of activities that might occur as part of the course. Students realized that this class was not going to use the more familiar reading-lecture-discussion model of education. Noted one,

> In the first two workshops, we were given an overview of the awareness we give to individual body movements and expressions. It was very important that [the professors] talked us through what we were to be aware of or notice, since I'd never done this kind of work before.

Another said that the workshop on decorum

> made me more aware of how present ritual is in everyday life. After this workshop, many things that I saw on campus stood out to me. I enjoyed gaining this realization. It was fun to act in class, especially seeing the different perceptions of men and women.

The workshops also became a way to shape group identity. Metcalf and I were particularly interested to find that, although we conducted the same workshop three times a day, each class developed a distinct personality and responded to the workshop exercises differently, often radically so. Generally, our 9 a.m. section was the most cooperative of the three groups. They met each workshop challenge with enthusiasm and a kind of faith in the outcome of the project (which, I should add, was not always accurate). The 11 a.m. group was more passive. Many students had already been to at least one class: a small seminar section of the social systems course on racism. They were in a "listening/talking" rather than a "doing" mode of learning and preferred to discuss things before trying them. The 4 p.m. section was divided by two competing factions: a group of male architecture majors who had been in a design studio all afternoon and simply wanted to fool around, and a more serious group who wanted to commit to the performance projects but seemed unable to overcome the dominant architecture majors.

The responses of each group came to be increasingly important to the experience of the class as a whole, and by midsemester the activities and responses of the other groups were a frequent topic of discussion among the students. Metcalf and I found that we often needed to divert this discussion in order to allow each group to respond to the workshop exercises in its own way. We also had to work hard not to apply our experiences with previous sections to later ones. We had to create exercises that were flexible and universal, and then step aside and allow things to develop. An example from the next unit will illustrate the range of responses within the class.

Behavior and Style

We devoted several weeks to examining how artifacts stimulate, shape, and reflect behavior and style. We read portions of Douglas and Isherwood's *The World of Goods* (1979), in which they observe that "goods are the visible part of culture . . . . Consumption uses goods to make firm and visible a particular set of judgments in the fluid processes of classifying persons and events." They conclude, "Goods, in this perspective, are ritual adjuncts; consumption is a ritual process whose primary function is to make sense of the inchoate flux of events" (pp. 65-67). We read materials on collecting, shopping malls, style, and consumption. We traveled to a nearby shopping mall and conducted fieldwork on the construction of space and its meaning. We examined the notion of value as a product of culture.

As part of this unit, we asked students to bring an object to class, specifying that it represent something special to them, but not be overly fragile or

expensive. Students brought stuffed animals, hats, photographs, jewelry, letters, beer cans, clothing. When they arrived in the workshop space, we asked them to place their objects in the center of the room and form a circle around them. After quietly contemplating the assemblage of artifacts for a few moments, I suggested that they might wish to arrange the objects in a particular way with the following instructions:

> Perhaps you see connections between certain objects that you can express by moving them in some way. Perhaps some arrangement simply seems pleasing. If you wish, you may go into the center and move the items to express your point of view.

Once some tentative arranging had begun, I suggested that perhaps the class could work toward some final arrangement that seemed complete or satisfying. The groups' responses were remarkably varied, yet consistent with the personality of each workshop.

The cooperative and idealistic 9 a.m. section displayed a particular concern with achieving a collective vision of the final grouping of objects. Objects were arranged according to either aesthetic or use categories. Participants grouped the teddy bears, placed photographs together, laid two necklaces on a silk scarf, put articles of clothing in a separate area, and so on. Minor disagreements arose over the stuffed animals: Some students believed that all the animals belonged together, while others preferred to put all the bears in one place and the other animals in another area. The animals were rearranged several times, but the group eventually reached a compromise.

In their evaluations, many 9 a.m. students said this was the most interesting workshop. One noted that "students seemed uncomfortable when the objects were arranged in a way that was 'wrong' to them. Someone said we each project our own experience and values onto other people's objects. I saw that happening in this workshop."

The 11 a.m. group was, predictably, more passive than the first. Items were moved about, but without any sense of unified goals or concerns. After about 5 minutes, one woman suddenly started handing items back to their owners. Others went into the center and took their objects. Metcalf and I were handed our objects as well. We looked at one another and waited. "A group that doesn't want to be a group?" I wondered. I put my object back in the center. Metcalf placed his nearby, and three others gradually followed. Then everyone stared at each other.

This group's evaluations indicated that they were both disturbed and intrigued by the object exercise. One said, "[The workshop] was confusing because I realized later there was a lot more going on than simple feelings about our objects when they were moved." Remarked another,

> When the objects were handed back, I felt like the rules were being violated, that [the woman handing the objects back] was cheating. But

> then we'd learned in the play workshop that cheating is tolerated because nobody wants to stop the game.

Another commented that "this was probably the most revealing and important workshop of the course. It proved that our class doesn't want to act as a group, but instead wants to do things independently."

The 4 p.m. workshop was dominated by the previously mentioned male architecture majors. They were very aggressive toward the objects. A teddy bear was dangled from a chandelier. Other objects were thrown around and handled roughly. Symbolic wars over the placement of certain objects moved across the center in waves. A number of students were displeased and removed their items. When challenged to come to a final grouping, the dominant males stomped out of the circle. Six women moved in and quickly straightened up. In a brief discussion that followed, only one person, a woman, apologized for forgetting that the objects were special. The men remained silent.

The third group's evaluations expressed anger and frustration. "I hated what was going on," one said. "What I really wanted to do was go out and just sit down or curl up amid the objects as a nonviolent protest to what was going on. But I didn't and I was mad." Many were surprised and/or intrigued by the conflicts that emerged over the "right" and "wrong" placement of certain objects. "Everybody had their own idea of how the objects should be arranged. Some people went in and changed it and in some cases were the target of some anger because other people didn't want their objects messed with." Several said they felt intimidated by the aggressive group. One of the aggressors said,

> I was simply amazed at how much people value their possessions (and how much I don't). It taught me that I will need to be more observant of how others feel about their objects instead of assuming that they feel the same as I do.

Nearly a third of the 4 p.m. group did not evaluate this workshop.

In their general remarks, however, students from all the groups agreed that this was the semester's most powerful workshop. Said one, "This workshop really brought home the dynamics of the group, of people's objects, and how 'things' in our society are valued by the significance we give to them." Many said the workshop was "a good way to observe people's feelings," and that it was "interesting to watch people's emotions spring into action when their objects were put somewhere they didn't want them." A student from the third group looked at the exercise more universally, stating, "Whenever you try to change something, someone changes it again and there is a circle of unrest and disharmony. We need to work together more. So does the world."

Workshop Variety

Workshops were not used every week, and were not always as active as the play or object workshops. During a week on shamanism, for example, the workshop consisted of lying on the floor with eyes closed and visualizing a story of a shaman's dream quest as it was read aloud. Another week we examined the Super Bowl, spending lecture time viewing videotaped portions of 1989's Super Bowl XXIII between the Cincinnati Bengals and the San Francisco 49ers. Earlier we had seen *Trobriand Cricket*, a film documenting the English game of cricket as transformed by the natives of the Trobriand Islands. We asked students to compare the entrance ceremonies of the Bengals and 49ers to the entrance dances of the Trobriand players. We asked them to think about the ways in which sports reflect culture and to consider the possibility that sport is a ritual that, like all rituals, is integrally bound to a system of values.

We had planned a brief exercise that would examine the relationship between rule-bound behavior and performance, but students found the sports-culture connection so interesting that we abandoned the workshop in favor of more extensive discussions in small groups. I mention this because it is important to recognize that performance workshops are only one of many tools we can use in the classroom; we must not overlook the usefulness of a more traditional format. Many students agreed, in fact, that the sports discussion "was a good break . . . the discussion helped me get my feet back on the ground and define terms." A woman admitted that

> truthfully, I would never have sat at home and analyzed a football game, but I'm glad I had the opportunity to do so here. I learned a great deal more about American society and culture, and I'm not so sure that I like what I learned either. But this topic also showed me how alike different cultures are in some ways.

Final Projects

The semester concluded with two types of student activities: either a short performance piece or a fieldwork report, presented by groups of five or six collaborators that were established after spring break. Each project was accompanied by a five- to six-page written documentation and analysis of the activity. Students also critiqued one another's presentations in two- to three-page papers.

The fieldwork groups selected a faculty member's home, or in one case a sorority quad, and assessed the use of space as an arena for the presentation of self. First-year students enjoyed the opportunity to learn about professors' lives beyond the university, but more important, they came to understand much more about the meaning of things and their placement within the home. In response to the fieldworkers' reports, one student noted,

> I was amazed at how three different homes, while composed of the same basic elements (living room, kitchen, dining room, etc.), possessed very different auras that reflected their owners. Before that morning, [the faculty members] had been simply names. Now I know a little more about how they live, what they value, and how they see themselves.

The other half of the class created short performance pieces in response to key issues raised in the course. One group, for example, recreated a section of a campus sidewalk, showing the levels of interaction that occur there on a daily basis. Another group observed weekly faculty meetings and presented a dance-like performance of the idiosyncratic gestures they witnessed during these gatherings. These groups learned that theatre is "like a magnifying glass," expanding a microscopic view into something larger than life that also "creates a unique intensity" of experience for both audience and performers (Brook, 1968, pp. 98-99). Their projects were a culmination of the concepts of behavior presented throughout the semester. Declared one student,

> Reflecting on my Creativity & Culture experience these last few weeks, I find that it has drawn together the themes of the course; in a sense, condensed them out of the atmosphere of generality into a glass of the here and now, an intensely personal vision of social reality.

Student Response to the Course

The students' view of the course was extremely positive. They liked the structure and format, and considered the variety of topics stimulating. Many also agreed that "while every week it seemed like we did something completely different, actually everything is connected." Several mentioned connections with other courses. Said one, "[The course] seems like psychology, sociology, anthropology, and theatre all rolled into one. It's life and how people are and how they react to situations." Added another, "If you know yourself better, you can know others better. I think that's what this course is all about."

Students clearly believed that the workshops were the most successful part of the course. Said one student,

> [The workshops] let us experience by doing rather than experience by being told how it happens. We learned the elements of ritual and play through our actions and I think that has helped me grasp things better than if [the professors] had simply lectured me.

Another said that the workshops were "like a physics lab because it's a demonstration of a theory." Concluded a third, "Overall, this is an awesome course. It's proved to me it doesn't take straight books and tests to learn."

Conclusion

One of the special tasks of ritual action, Myerhoff observes, is to persuade its practitioners that what is occurring is significant, sacred, or set apart in some way. "Action is indicated," Myerhoff explains, "because ritual persuades the body first" (1977, p. 199). In our course--coincidentally organized around issues of ritual, play, and expressive behavior--the classroom itself became a ritualized arena for the enactment of our concerns. Via film and texts, we traveled to the Trobriand Islands, Nepal, a small Appalachian church, and a New York City subway. We examined baseball and shopping malls, punk culture and estate sales. We discussed style, artifacts, culture, politics, ritual, performance art, shamanism, folk art, play, consumption, relationships, and flow. But most important, we ritualized, played, shopped, fought, performed, consumed, and flowed together. The workshops *persuaded* students of the significance of our behavioral environment by having them enact certain behaviors within the education frame of a college classroom and the performance frame of a workshop.

To maintain both a coherent and appropriate examination of behaviors found in ritual or play, however, these behaviors must not simply be abstracted from the complex social processes of which they are a part. Rituals exist within "the ceaseless flow of social life, and in the social dramas within which communities seek to contain that life" (Turner & Turner, 1982, p. 48). Thus, as the Turners note, "the most effective kind of performance ethnography is not the simulation of a ritual or ceremony torn from its cultural context, but a series of 'acts' or 'scenes' based on detailed observation" (1982, p. 47). The Turners suggest that instructors should therefore choose more familiar social dramas, such as weddings or law cases, explaining,

> By posing the functionally familiar against the culturally exotic in the dynamics of social drama, we can make our students vividly aware both of innate commonalities and cultural differences in relation to a wide range of human societies. Our recommendation, then, is this: If we attempt to perform ethnography, let us not begin with such apparently "exotic" and "bizarre" cultural phenomena as ritual and myths. Such an emphasis may only encourage prejudice, since it stresses the "otherness of the other." Let us focus first on what all people share, the social drama form, from which emerge all types of cultural performance, which, in their turn, subtly stylize the contours of social interaction in everyday life. (1982, p. 48)

For first-year interdisciplinary studies and architecture majors, we chose games, objects, homes, even the dynamics of the classroom itself.

Educational theorist Peter McLaren, in his book *Schooling as a Ritual Performance* (1986), describes teaching, and learning in general, as a symbolic performance or ritual. For McLaren, rituals are "forms of enacted meaning [that] enable social actors to frame, negotiate, and articulate their phenomenological existence as social, cultural, and moral beings." He adds

that "the above definition is coincident with the perspective of Marsh et al. that 'in addition to rule-governed patterns of conduct [rituals consist of] . . . a distinct and identifiable system of symbols which communicate particular meanings within a microsociety, and in so doing accomplish certain social acts . . .'" (McLaren, 1986, p. 48). McLaren develops the conceptual links between ritual and schooling in his book. Metcalf and I found these same links in our classroom. We discovered that, although our workshops provided a dynamic cultural arena for ritual performance, the dimensions of ritual, play, and expressive behavior already exist in the classroom. By midsemester students were using themselves and their behaviors as a primary interdisciplinary tool of the course.

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The Challenge of Diversity: Alienation in the Academy and Its Implications for Faculty

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Several years ago, I found myself becoming increasingly impatient as I read report after report and heard speech after speech describing the changing demographics in our society. Most descriptions ended with statistics, as if these figures made it obvious that changes were needed and that we all knew what these changes should be. If the reports went further, they tended to describe a population of students who were different primarily in their preparation for college, a difference that institutions needed to deal with. My experience as an administrator and faculty member in higher education for almost 25 years told me that the issues and challenges were far more complex than they were described. In particular, I was not sure that the right questions were being asked.

A central part of my work the past two years has been to evaluate current research and theory related to diversity in higher education, that is, diversity in terms of the various student populations now considered nontraditional, including racial and ethnic minorities, adult learners, women, and people with physical and learning disabilities. One of my conclusions from these investigations was that the issues raised in our discussions about diversity go to the heart of quality education and that by paying attention to these issues, we have an opportunity to improve teaching, learning, and higher education's role in the society of the future. The task facing us is not an easy one, because it challenges some of the ways we think and perform our responsibilities. Moreover, it is a challenge that cannot be met successfully unless faculty play a critical role.

This article is based on an address given at the Second Annual Lilly Conference on College Teaching-West, March 30, 1990, University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead, California.

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One caveat: The challenge of diversity is not new to higher education, having been faced in one form or another by this country since its inception. Further, it is unrealistic to assume that higher education will be able to meet this challenge independent of the rest of the society. It is clear, however, that the successful involvement of diverse populations in higher education has significant implications for education in general and for the nation.

I will summarize the status of diversity today and then discuss some of the fundamental issues that we must confront, particularly those centering on the curriculum, teaching, and learning.

One Third of a Nation is one of the recent reports concerning this topic that sounds the alarm, "America is moving backward not forward in its efforts to achieve the full participation of minority citizens in the life and prosperity of the nation . . . If we allow these disparities to continue, the United States will inevitably suffer a compromised quality of life and a lower standard of living" (Commission on Minority Participation in Education and American Life, 1988, p. 1). Similarly alarming themes have emerged over the last few years concerning the success of higher education in general. An examination of retention rates, performance, achievement, and access to certain fields, institutions, and postgraduate study shows that the record today is not what it should be. This is not only true for large numbers of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans, but also for women, people with physical and learning disabilities, adult learners, and other individuals who simply drop by the wayside--in other words, the vast majority of our students.

As I reviewed the literature describing the status of each of these groups, the most troubling theme to emerge was alienation: Many campuses do not effectively involve those who are different (Smith, 1989). The issue of alienation pervades the literature in higher education. Although it is particularly prevalent in the literature concerning racial and ethnic minorities, it also is present in the literature focusing on women, people with disabilities, and virtually all other nontraditional groups. Alienation, lack of involvement, marginalization, overt racism, insensitivity, sexual harassment, and discrimination tend to characterize the campus experience, the classroom, and the curriculum for students who are different. Such students tend to feel like outsiders, or "strangers in a strange land" (Beckham, 1988, p. 74). *In higher education, the condition of diversity is all too often a condition of alienation.*

The implications for education are profound. Given what we know about teaching and learning, it is involvement in the educational process, not alienation from it, that is central to success. Moreover, the experience of involvement or alienation can directly or indirectly affect the performance and success not only of students, but of faculty and staff as well.

Historically, as institutions evaluated student performance, success or failure was attributed to characteristics of the students. The result is that responsibility for success is defined in terms of the individual. An extensive literature now exists suggesting that the issues facing many students go beyond their individual and group backgrounds to the question of whether

institutions are designed to deal with diversity. Our programs, methods of assessment, and institutional policy must focus not only on the needs of individuals and groups but also on the organization and the ways in which questions are framed and problems addressed. In other words, the basic conceptual framework must shift from one of only assisting or accommodating those who are different so that they can survive in an alien world, to a broadened focus on the college or university and what it does to promote successful education.

What would our institutions, classrooms, curriculum, students, faculty, and staff look like if we were truly prepared to educate diverse populations for a pluralistic world? Frankly, I don't think we know yet. We have just begun to ask that question. But I do know that this *is* the question, that we *would* look different and that we *would* be more successful. Just as the countries of eastern Europe have embarked on a process of breaking away from old patterns without having a clear picture of the future, higher education is now moving along an uncharted path.

Before discussing some of the areas in which reformulation must take place, I would like to emphasize the importance of framing problems and questions correctly. I consider this critical to much of our dialogue about diversity on campus. The way we frame questions and problems leads toward the knowledge we seek and the answers we find at every level--from how we evaluate students, to where we look for solutions, to whom we hire, and to what and how we teach. For example, Jaramillo (1988) points out that when retention is referred to as *student dropout rate*, it implies a problem with the student. Alternatively, when retention is termed *institutional graduation rate*, the focus is on the institution. She says, "as long as we condone the use of metaphors which conjure up a scenario of individual initiative and responsibility for educational failure, change will not occur" (Jaramillo, 1988, p. 27). By focusing on the "underprivileged minority," we shift our attention away from the institution.

I am a psychologist, and the dominant research paradigm in my field for understanding educational success has been to compare successful with unsuccessful students. The result of this design is that we learn who can succeed in our system and who cannot, but we leave relatively untouched the role of the organization, the classroom, and the environment in producing these results. With this approach, we admit and retain only those who fit our system or who can survive in spite of it, and we eliminate those who are different. We now are faced with the necessity and the opportunity to think once again about what we do and how we do it. The aim of this effort is improved capacity to educate in a pluralistic society for a pluralistic world. But we must shift our thinking from students who are "problems," a kind of deficit model, to what the institution is doing. *All too often we have assumed institutional perfection and student incompetence.*

One area needing change is the curriculum. This requires thinking about what we teach and why, and about new scholarship, not just so that students

can identify with material but because of the need for integrity in what we teach (McIntosh, 1989).

The Ford Foundation recently invited 200 colleges and universities to submit proposals for encouraging diversity to be considered for funding. In a letter from a group of university presidents and others that came with Ford's request for proposals was a call to weave diversity "into the academic life and purpose of the institution: valued by faculty, expressed through the curriculum and nourished through cultural expression and extracurricular life." Significant progress has been made in adding curricular material dealing with diversity, but these efforts remain mostly at the margin of our institutions. Traditional subject matters and approaches have been only slightly altered, perhaps with the inclusion of a book by Maxine Hong Kingston, a speech by Martin Luther King, or a citation of Barbara McLintock's role in biology. These approaches leave unchanged the dominant notions of what should be taught. They leave the study of new perspectives and material on the fringes and keep at the center of the curriculum what traditionally has been considered essential and important to learn.

Curricular transformation may be prompted by the diversity of students, but that is not a sufficient motive. The rationale must be that as long as we continue to teach from one tradition only, we perpetuate the notion that, for example, the White middle-class experience in America is *the* important experience and that other experiences provide only interesting anecdotes. The new questions introduced by women's studies in traditional fields--and the revitalization of disciplines that has occurred--are an example of how scholarship and the curriculum can be reevaluated from the perspectives of those at the margin by placing them at the center. One consequence of this effort will be the reduction of alienation. Curricular transformation involves the same kind of developmental process as institutional transformation, moving from simply adding courses that seek to plug holes in the curriculum to asking new questions that more naturally embrace the pluralism of perspectives in the field.

A second focus for change is classroom pedagogy. In most institutions, classroom pedagogy has remained largely unchanged, dictated by the reality of large classes, unfamiliarity with alternative ways of teaching and learning, and an assumption that the lecture method conveys information most effectively. Recognizing that groups and individuals learn in different ways requires rethinking the manner in which teaching is delivered. The concept of different learning styles relates not only to the ways in which knowledge is organized and absorbed but also to the different climates and modes that are either compatible with or alien to one's background. For some cultures, cooperative learning is the only way to learn; highly individualistic approaches are not understood. The issue of redesigning pedagogy is particularly pressing in math, science, and writing. Again, because we have labeled failure to learn as a student problem or deficit, our approach has been

simply to add programs such as tutoring, remediation, or drill and practice--again at the margin.

As long as students could succeed despite this prevailing model of teaching, and as long as we did not care about those who did not succeed, we did not need to connect teaching with learning. Now those conditions have changed. Fewer students succeed, and their failure is our failure.

There is now a call for teaching that encourages involvement, in which there is participation and feedback. This model of teaching is based on all we know about learning and stands in stark contrast to the values implicit in many forms of contemporary pedagogy--isolation, cynicism, and competition--a system that relies on lectures, grading on the curve, and highly individualistic if not competitive approaches.

Assessment is a third dimension of this educational challenge. Important questions have been raised about the forms of assessment already in place. For example, multiple-choice, timed tests may be invalid indicators of learning for those with learning disabilities. We have become increasingly aware that total reliance on standardized tests of any kind severely restricts our capacity to assess potential and learning for many students. The adult learner and many racial and ethnic groups are at a disadvantage on these tests. Without valid indicators of learning, underestimating the performance of many students is a significant risk. We need to develop adequate assessment programs and to stop relying on inadequate measures which, although expedient, diminish the evidence of performance for particular groups.

The New York State Supreme Court recently ruled that using the SAT as the sole basis for allocation of state scholarships was unconstitutional, because this practice systematically denied scholarships to women. The evidence presented was that the SAT consistently failed to predict accurately performance in college. On average, women earned better college grades than did men yet received fewer scholarships when the SAT was used as the only predictor of college performance (National Center for Fair and Open Testing, 1989).

Another major issue we must address is the diversity of faculty and staff. Indeed, this is almost universally cited as one of the most important aspects of change. Once again, we may be framing the questions and responses in a much too limited way. Currently, the primary rationale for needing a diverse faculty and staff is that it will serve minority students well--a kind of benevolent call for role models for nontraditional students. Certainly an important element of the success of historically Black and women's colleges is the leadership role of Black and women faculty and staff at these institutions. But there are several more reasons as well. As long as our institutional leadership remains as homogeneous as it is, our efforts at diversity will be suspect. Moreover, our efforts at embracing diversity likely will be as ineffective as most unilateral and unidimensional decisions are. The ultimate test of a pluralistic institution is that power at all levels and in all dimensions is shared by a diverse mix of persons.

Diversification of faculty and staff is critical to our institutions, because diversity is likely to contribute vitally to what is taught and how it is taught. Further, without diversity in institutional decision making, the perspectives are apt to be too narrow, not considering alternative viewpoints and solutions. Diversity creates an intellectually exciting and dynamic environment in which various ways of knowing and seeing are introduced.

Numerous efforts across the country stress the diversification of faculty and staff. Yet there is great concern that achieving this goal is highly unlikely because of the demographics of the pipeline. The current projections are that more faculty positions will open in the next decade than have been available for some time; however, it is recognized almost universally that the lack of retention and attractiveness of pursuing advanced degrees for many nontraditional groups threatens the achievement of diversity among faculty and staff.

The barriers to this goal are not just numbers. Evidence suggests that institutions are not retaining faculty and staff for the same reasons they are not retaining students (Blackwell, 1988). As long as persons who are different remain a small minority on campus--tokens--they will be placed in difficult situations. The strains described for students are multiplied for staff and faculty, who are asked to serve on all relevant committees, to bring diversity by their presence to almost all aspects of decision making, and at the same time, to meet rigorous standards for promotion and tenure. Some may also pursue nontraditional scholarship, which might address topics that traditional faculty cannot evaluate and which tend to appear in publications that traditional faculty do not consider sufficiently prestigious. Minority faculty and staff are also likely to endure the same kind of loneliness and insensitivity experienced by minority students. Such persons are highly visible as members of groups, yet invisible as individuals. As Madrid said, "Being the other is invisible, while sticking out like a sore thumb" (1988, p. 2).

The current revolving-door pattern is an extravagant waste of human resources and a major obstacle to change. Efforts to retain and develop minority faculty, staff, and graduate students within the institution are as important as increasing the minority applicant pool to the institution.

A number of issues hinder our ability to make changes in these areas. I would like to mention one in particular, because it is fundamental to many of the others: Shifts in perspective raise questions about values that, in our traditional ways of thinking, tend to pit diversity against quality. The continuing message that a basic conflict exists between diversity and quality is perhaps the most disturbing indication that present institutional responses to diversity are inadequate. Given the number of national studies concerned about the effectiveness and quality of higher education and the call for better standards, the higher education community and faculty in particular need to address this issue carefully and thoughtfully.

Ironically, as I look at studies of the most successful institutions concerning diversity, a common characteristic is that they have high standards for

performance. The climate of such institutions is one in which excellent performance and quality are expected and not compromised. The difference is that great care is given to deciding how performance will be evaluated. In these schools, students who are different do not feel as though they were admitted but expected to fail. Setting high standards to weed out is different than using high standards as a framework in which students are expected and helped to succeed (Mingle, 1987; Richardson & De los Santos, 1988; Pearson, Shavlik, & Touchton, 1989).

Where then do we get caught? Sometimes it has to do with using traditional measures to assess quality, whether it is certain scores on standardized tests, numbers of publications in certain journals, or degrees from certain graduate schools. If those are indicators of quality, most persons at the margin will be excluded or devalued. In my research on diversity, for example, I became aware that I was reading the work of more White scholars on racial and ethnic diversity than of minority scholars. An indication of the pipeline problem? No. When I started searching for the work of minority scholars I knew were writing in this area, I discovered that much of their work was published in journals and books that are not mainstream. Their writing and research was very important, but it was invisible. To this day, I know that if I publish in a journal labeled as dealing with women's studies, I reduce the clout of my article from a promotion and tenure perspective in my kind of institution, even if the journal is refereed and best suits the topic.

In addition to the question of where one publishes, there is the question of what one teaches. The methods and questions of many disciplines foreclose discussion of topics that interest persons at the margin. Let me give you an example from my own teaching of adult development, a field whose significant theories are based primarily on the study of men. A topic such as Black women's adult development is still considered a special interest topic, not part of the mainstream research or teaching on adult development. It does not occur to us that all the research based on White adults is also specialized. In the view of the field to this day, theories based on data from White participants are legitimate theories of adult development. The same statement cannot be made for data from homosexuals, Blacks, or Hispanics. Research on these groups generally is not published in mainstream journals or taught in mainstream courses. The perceived quality of the work is therefore discounted.

One can claim that higher education is predisposed to maintaining homogeneity and to adapting only when necessary. Another example of this tendency is that some institutions have set limits on access for Asian-Americans because they are considered overrepresented in the student body. The credibility of higher education's commitment to quality and diversity is weakened when access of Asian-Americans is limited in the name of diversity, and access of Blacks and Hispanics is limited in the name of quality. The net result of both is to perpetuate homogeneity.

If these two concepts--quality and diversity--remain in conflict, the challenge of diversity cannot be met. I do not believe there is an intrinsic conflict. However, when quality is measured in only one way, the conflict will remain. We can broaden our understanding about quality without diluting expectations for learning, for the curriculum, or for faculty. We need to scrutinize carefully the standards we use, the assessment of performance, and the climate in which performance is assessed.

What are the implications of diversity for teaching and faculty? While there are many, I would like to emphasize the following:

1. We need to be prepared to deal with and learn from conflict. Even the most superficial analysis of what is happening on college campuses suggests that conflict is either openly present or just under the surface. In fact, greater conflict exists on those campuses engaged in discussions and actions concerning diversity. Alternate perspectives on issues, lack of trust, varying levels of power on campus, and different values make conflict inevitable. While higher education theoretically is rooted in the notion of debate, it is not clear that institutions actually know how to deal with conflict. The challenge is to accept that conflict will occur, that we will learn from the debate, and that vehicles will be needed to assist in the resolution of conflict. Indeed, a characteristic of many successful campuses is that they have created strong policies, procedures, and even special programs of mediation and arbitration to recognize the existence of conflict and to use it as a vehicle for learning.

2. We need to clarify our view of the mission of our institutions in the 21st century. Higher education's response to the proliferation of knowledge and disciplines has led to a smorgasbord approach to the curriculum. The answer is not increasing fragmentation, but rather thoughtful clarification of what is important and why.

3. We need to educate ourselves and each other about new developments in our own fields and about our students. When the computer era arrived, especially personal computers, most of us understood that we would need to learn this new technology, and we did. We did not want the institution, the discipline, or ourselves to be considered out of date with respect to new technology. Moreover, our institutions found a way to respond. Scholars in all fields found themselves "retooled." Similarly, we cannot afford to be out of date with respect to the knowledge emerging about diversity and its implications for teaching and learning.

4. We need to be clear about which values and objectives are truly central to our goals and which simply serve to maintain homogeneity. Because isolation in our own cultures can make this difficult to see, it will necessitate collaborative efforts among those of divergent perspectives.

5. We need to be aggressive in hiring and retaining minority faculty and staff. The pipeline demographics cannot be an excuse for allowing the status quo to continue. We also must assess the kinds of support and protection given to minority faculty and staff who might otherwise be spread too thin.

6. We need to understand and evaluate the kinds of classroom approaches and environments that inhibit success or prompt students to avoid certain fields, such as those requiring writing or mathematics.

7. We need to expect that change of this sort will take time and commitment. If we keep adding and changing only because we have to, we will resent the expenditure of time and resources. In contrast, if we change our frame of reference, we will see that we all have a great deal to gain from this effort. Our success as well as the integrity of our research and curriculum are at stake.

Collectively and individually, we all have an important role to play in addressing these issues. If there is a single lesson to be learned, it is that we cannot simply add and stir. Recognizing and dealing with the complexity of these issues should greatly benefit teaching, learning, and the curriculum. The resources of diversity will be invaluable in revitalizing education and in preparing us for the future.

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Fulfilling the Promise of the "Seven Principles" Through Cooperative Learning: An Action Agenda for the University Classroom

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A task force of prominent higher education researchers led by Arthur Chickering and Zelda Gamson met initially at Wingspread in July 1986 and produced a set of "Seven Principles of Good Practice in Undergraduate Education." Based on research but emphasizing practical examples, the Seven Principles and the accompanying faculty and institutional inventories were widely distributed throughout American colleges and universities. Over 100,000 copies of a special June 1987 issue of *The Wingspread Journal*, a Johnson Foundation publication featuring the Principles, have been mailed.

Faculty wanting to incorporate these principles into their teaching have looked for action plans compatible with their other, often discipline-related, educational goals. Cooperative learning, a structured form of collaborative learning, provides both the theoretical framework and the action plan to fulfill the promise of the Seven Principles. In a review of the research literature on teaching and learning in the college classroom, McKeachie, Pintrich, Lin, and Smith (1986) conclude, "The best answer to the question, 'What is the most effective method of teaching?,' is that it depends on the goal, the student, the content, and the teacher. But the next best answer is, 'Students teaching other students'" (p. 63). Hassard (1990) summarizes some of the benefits of cooperative learning:

> Educational practitioners such as David and Roger Johnson, Robert Slavin, and Spencer Kagan reported that cooperative learning resulted in high academic achievement; provided a vehicle for students to learn from one another; gave educators an alternative to the individual, competitive model; and was successful in improving relationships in multiethnic classrooms. (p. viii)

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Moreover, Natasi and Clements (1991) conclude that the benefits of cooperative learning, described as "enhance[d] academic achievement and cognitive growth, motivation and positive attitudes toward learning, social competence, and interpersonal relations," seem to be "universal." They emphasize that

> Cognitive-academic and social-emotional benefits have been reported for students from early elementary through college level, from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and having a wide range of ability levels . . . . Furthermore, cooperative learning has been used effectively across a wide range of content areas, including mathematics, reading, language arts, social studies, and science. (p. 111)

Because the structures (classroom activities) are easily mastered and rapidly executed, they can be incorporated into traditional classroom practices. Cooperative learning activities supplement and enhance, but do not replace, for instance, time-honored lectures. Likewise, because the evaluation method rests on individual accountability, not on the group grades distasteful to many students, cooperative learning complements traditional grading practices. Thus, faculty willing to investigate cooperative learning will discover creative ways to involve their students in the learning process (Cooper et al., 1990; Johnson, Johnson, & Smith, in press; Millis, 1990). Specifically, they will be putting into practice all of the Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education.

The Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education

Good Practice Encourages Student-Faculty Contact

In traditional classrooms, faculty frequently stand behind a podium, distanced from their students. Even when discussion occurs, it is frequently teacher directed and teacher focused. In classrooms using cooperative small group work, the emphasis changes, and the instructor becomes not the "sage on the stage," but the "guide on the side." Faculty constantly monitor groups' progress by sitting with the students. Philip Cottell, an accounting professor at Miami University, has used this method and identified five desirable outcomes.

1. He has become more aware of the kind of learning going on. He can, for example, observe which students are struggling. Often in listening to explanations couched in peer terminology as opposed to what he calls "professorese," he can learn the source of student confusion and find ways to alleviate it.

2. His presence demonstrates to students that he cares about them and their learning.

3. His students usually come to class prepared because they know that he will be an occasional group member. Students cannot hide their lack of preparation when the instructor is sitting next to their blank sheet of paper.

4. He has far more opportunity to interact with students--and hence get to know them in a positive setting--than with his former "See me after class" approach. Students feel more comfortable with him, and he learns quickly that the sea of faces formerly glimpsed from the podium is really composed of unique individuals.

5. He gathers information while sitting with students that enables him to help them with the group processing so important to effective cooperative learning.

Good Practice Encourages Cooperation Among Students

Grounded in theory, research, and practice, cooperative learning is a highly structured, systematic instructional strategy usually using heterogeneous small groups working toward common goals. Teams composed of four students work effectively because they are small enough to promote interaction, large enough to tolerate an occasional absence, and balanced enough to permit focused activities in pairs.

Two features, positive interdependence and individual accountability, distinguish cooperative learning from other collaborative group work. Positive interdependence means that students--because of carefully structured mutual goals, division of tasks, role interdependence, or group rewards--have a vested interest in working cooperatively together. Additionally, students are individually accountable for their own academic achievements and usually are tested separately under a noncompetitive, criterion-referenced grading system.

Cooperation is also enhanced through appropriate grouping, so that students may work in pairs (sometimes called "dyads") or in larger groups, depending on the academic task.

Many faculty also focus on social skills, routinely modeling these skills and at times discussing their value directly so that students know how to interact in a group, particularly as they give constructive feedback or ask probing questions.

Cooperation also grows out of the active student-faculty contact. The instructor's feedback is enhanced by the group monitoring done by students themselves.

Good Practice Encourages Active Learning

By its very nature, cooperative learning engenders active learning. Students engage in animated discussions as they carry out structured class assignments, and they often perform roles such as group coordinator, spokesperson, or recorder.

Cooperative learning structures such as "think-pair-share" can promote active learning even in a large auditorium. With this structure, faculty ask students to contemplate a problem or issue for about 30 seconds (think); students then turn to a partner and discuss their ideas (pair); finally, students within a group or a classroom present the results of their consultation (share). If the sharing is done as a whole-class discussion, the instructor should limit the responses to six or less to avoid repetition.

In another structure, "send-a-problem," each group of students analyzes a different problem related to a single topic. A recorder writes down the group's solutions and places them in a file folder. The folders are rotated to the next group which, without looking inside, likewise brainstorms and records their solutions before forwarding the folder again. In the final round, the third group opens the folder, reads the contributions from the previous groups, and selects the top two solutions.

Other structures, such as the "three-step interview" and "jigsaw," encourage higher order thinking skills. Some structures, such as "value lines" and "corners," require students to indicate choices by moving to designated locations, thus making them physically as well as mentally active.

Good Practice Gives Prompt Feedback

With structured small group work, students have ample opportunity to receive continuous and immediate feedback from their peers. The instructor also is accessible as he or she moves among the various groups. Many cooperative learning structures, such as think-pair-share, allow rehearsal time before students respond in class. They are constantly bouncing ideas off one another.

Because students are individually responsible for their own learning, most faculty return exams promptly, giving individual feedback to supplement the group learning. If optically scanned answer sheets are used, students can take tests individually, scan them in the classroom to determine the incorrect answers, and then work as a team to prepare a second answer sheet based on group consensus. Both exams are scored, one counting as an individual grade (individual accountability) and the other, almost invariably higher, counting as part of an ongoing cooperative learning grade (positive interdependence). Students benefit enormously from the discussion surrounding the immediate feedback.

Good Practice Emphasizes Time on Task

Faculty unfamiliar with cooperative learning may believe mistakenly that small group work is time consuming. This is not necessarily true if the tasks are timed and structured and the desired outcome is student learning tied to the course objectives. A think-pair-share exercise takes as little as 5 minutes.

Many cooperative learning practitioners use a timer or bell to signal shifts in the task. In the three-step interview, for example, the instructor can quickly form groups of four while students discuss a focus question. The instructor might ask students to find a partner they don't know well and interview that person for 2 minutes to ascertain his or her opinion on a class-related topic; at the sound of the bell, the two switch roles and the other person is interviewed for 2 minutes. The partners then join with another set of partners to form a group of four. For the next 4 minutes, each group member succinctly shares his or her partner's ideas. After this 8-minute exercise, the newly formed learning teams can then engage in another efficient exercise such as "roundtable," a 2-minute brainstorming session in which ideas are recorded on one sheet of paper passed quickly from student to student.

To eliminate the problem of off-task time commonly associated with group work, faculty can build into every activity an extra topic, assignment, or step for groups that work more rapidly than others. In a three-step interview, for instance, groups finishing early can discuss an extra interview question.

Good Practice Communicates High Expectations

Because cooperative learning emphasizes peer tutoring, collaborative learning, and positive social skills, it automatically signals to students that their abilities are valued and respected. The structured tasks resulting in positive interdependence build self-esteem because the contributions of all students are valuable.

In jigsaw, for example, students typically divide a task into four parts, each student assuming responsibility for a quarter of the project or material to be mastered. Students then leave their home teams/groups to meet in newly formed expert teams with members of other groups assigned the same task component. In expert teams, students discuss not only the content of their portion of the task, but they also rehearse teaching strategies they will use in the home team to make certain that their teammates master the same material.

Expectations are consistently higher in this type of learning environment than in the typical teacher-centered classroom, where faculty may assume that they are challenging students with the complexity of their lectures, but they are actually overwhelming the students.

Good Practice Respects Diverse Talents and Ways of Learning

Cooperative learning supplements, but does not replace, other methods of classroom delivery such as lecture and whole-class discussion, resulting in a diverse array of teaching-learning approaches. In structured small groups, students with different learning styles can teach each other, as Redding (1990) notes, "from their special and particular perspectives" (p. 47).

Cooperative learning's positive effects on minority self-esteem and student retention have been well documented. The work of Uri Treisman, for example,

is widely known and respected. Heterogeneous grouping--mixing high and low achievers, males and females, and younger and older students from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds--helps education become a vital reality for all students, including those at risk. As Slavin (1989-1990) concludes, "When students of different racial or ethnic backgrounds work together on a common goal, they gain in liking and respect for one another" (p. 52).

Conclusion

With the current cries for educational reform, faculty have an urgent responsibility to explore innovative teaching methods. Cooperative learning is a valuable tool, well researched and documented, to enhance classroom interactions that promote learning. The Seven Principles of Good Practice in Undergraduate Education printed in *The Wingspread Journal* can now figuratively take wing through cooperative learning techniques.

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The Honor in Teaching

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We all know there is honor in teaching. Teaching ranks right up there with the other honorable professions in which there is little opportunity to get rich: the ministry, art, social work, chamber music, the rank-and-file Marines, and hamburger flipping at McDonald's. Because in these professions there is little opportunity for wealth, there must be honor. But what is honor?

Frederick Henry, a disillusioned soldier in Ernest Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, reports that the word *honor* embarrassed him: "I was always embarrassed by the words sacred, glorious, and sacrifice . . . . Abstract words such as glory, honor, courage, or hallow were obscene beside the concrete names of villages, the numbers of roads, the names of rivers" (Chapter 27).

Do we in teaching share that embarrassment about the word *honor* as it applies to teaching? Are we afraid to use it because it has no definite meaning for us? Do we drift to concrete words like salary, and research, and student evaluations, and enrollments, and FTEs, and assessment, and publications, and university, because at least we think we know what those mean?

But let's not give up so easily on the abstract word *honor*. Join me as I try to think as concretely as I can about this foggy thing called honor. If at times I sound like an English professor analyzing language and literature, well, you must forgive me.

We need, first, to distinguish somewhat among the various parts of speech that can be associated with the word *honor*. I want to set aside, for example, the way we use *honor* as a verb. A verb, you recall, is a word that shows action, and in which the infinitive form is preceded by *to*, as in *to honor*.

I have nothing against anyone who wants to honor someone or something. To honor someone or something is very nice indeed. It is always a good idea to honor our fathers and mothers, or to honor the rights of others. And I think it is a fine idea to honor teachers by singling them out for special recognition or awards. It is good to love, honor, and obey our spouses. It is just fine for a square dancer to honor her partner and for a banker to honor a check we

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have written. And we all know how diligent we professors are in honoring requests that a certain book be returned to the library so that another patron can honor it. But those are all verbs, and I don't want to talk about verbs today.

Nor do I want to talk about *honor* as an adjective. An adjective, as you recall from fifth grade, is a word that modifies a noun. There is, for example, an honor suit in certain card games. We all like honor students in our classes. Then there are the various adjectives made of the word *honor*, such as *honorable*. We all approve of honorable motives, and honorable discharges from the Marines. We approve of honorable public servants, and we give them official titles beginning with *the Honorable*.

There are other such adjectives made of the word *honor*. We all know that we like to give out, and receive, *honorary* degrees, and we show our respect for great men and women by giving them *honorific* titles. But I am not interested in adjectives today.

No, what I want to talk about today is the noun *honor*.

What's a noun? Well, already we are in trouble. We all learned in school that a noun is a person, place, or thing, but *honor* is none of those. Have you ever seen an honor walking around with a hat and coat on? Or a road sign indicating that a town named Honor is at the next exit? Or a thing called honor in the corner waiting to be dusted off? If honor were a donkey, and we were going to pin a tail on it, we would miss the target every time, because *honor* is not that kind of a noun.

No, *honor* is an abstract noun, which means that it has no body to it. *Honor* is an idea, a concept, a notion. *Honor* has meaning, but I challenge you to define it. Even the dictionary can do little more than give as synonyms other abstractions: "high public esteem . . . integrity . . . glory." We can mouth those words, but they are more of the kinds of words that embarrassed the war-torn Frederick Henry.

Let us see if we can do better than the dictionary at defining the abstract noun *honor*. It may be that we should approach this word not by finding other abstract nouns that can be used as synonyms, but by considering some of the ways we use the noun itself, especially in literature.

How do we use the noun *honor*? We notice, when we think about it for a moment, that the word *honor* can mean one thing when we use it in reference to men, and quite something else when we use it in reference to women. A discussion of the meaning of *honor* takes us straight to the sexism that runs rampant in our culture, but let us see where the trail leads us.

When we think of a man's honor we think first of fighting, don't we? A man's honor is at stake when he fights a duel. It is an honor for a man to fight the enemies of his country. It is an honor for him to die for his country. Indeed, the noun *honor* when applied to a man often involves danger. It implies risk, even risk of death.

For men, honor is more noble than love. Who could admire a man who stayed home from the honorable fray of battle merely because he was in love?

Robert Herrick even wrote a poem about the primacy of honor over love. Significantly entitled, "To Jocasta, On Going to the Wars," the poem ends with these lines:

> I could not love thee, dear, so much,
> Loved I not honour more.

Shakespeare's delightfully realistic Falstaff, of course, sardonically reinforces this meaning of honor as death-bringing: "What is honour? a word. What is in that word honour? air . . . . Who hath it? he that died o'Wednesday. Doth he feel it? no. Doth he hear it? no . . . . Therefore, I'll none of it" (*Henry IV*, Pt. I, Act V, Sc. 1, l. 129). Falstaff dismisses the noun *honor* as just a bit of air. Even as he dismisses it, however, he helps us to define it by suggesting that it involves risk. He rejects honor because he is a coward, because he will not take the risk.

But if honor for men involves the danger of fighting and death, what of women? Here we find a gender-related difference. For women, honor traditionally involves not fighting, but chastity. The battlefield for a woman's honor is traditionally the bedroom. She, too, must put up the good fight, but it is a fight to protect her maidenhead.

Perhaps you are familiar with Andrew Marvel's poem, "To His Coy Mistress." In this poem the speaker attempts to convince his lady to yield up her maidenhead to him. Whereas his 20th-century counterparts might say, crassly, "What are ya saving it for," the speaker of Marvel's poem presents his argument in more moving terms. If there were "world enough and time," he says to the woman, he would like to spend an age in the delicious preliminaries to lust. Death, however, beckons us all. Do you, he asks, really want your maidenhead to be penetrated not by me, today, but by worms, tomorrow? Here are a few lines from the middle of the poem, beginning with its most famous ones:

> But at my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near:
> And yonder all before us lie
> Deserts of vast eternity.
> Thy beauty shall no more be found;
> Nor, in thy marble vault, shall sound
> My echoing song: then worms shall try
> That long-preserved virginity.
> And your quaint honor turn to dust,
> And into ashes all my lust. (ll. 21-30)

We never learn whether the coy mistress becomes less coy and yields to his persuasive arguments. But I would call your attention to that line, "And your quaint honor turn to dust." It is interesting that the speaker modifies the noun *honor* with the adjective *quaint*, because the word *quaint* in medieval and

renaissance times meant *vaginal*. Notice the exact association of honor and chastity in women in that phrase, "quaint honor."

If a woman is married, of course, her honor is still her chastity, but now what is at stake is not her maidenhead but her reputation. For a woman, as for a man, honor can involve risk to life, but for her usually it is a different kind of risk. For her the risk is that, aware of her own dishonor, she will kill herself. If that fails to bring her death, her husband may murder her in righteous anger.

One of Geoffrey Chaucer's stories, the *Franklin's Tale*, demonstrates nicely the male as opposed to the female versions of honor. Not long after he is married, the husband Arveragus goes off to the wars for two years because knightly honor requires it. His wife Dorigen, in his absence, is tempted sexually by a lovesick squire. She spurns him, but he persists. To get rid of the squire, she says that she will sleep with him only if all of the rocks off the coast of Brittany disappear. The task is impossible, and so her virtue, her honor, is intact.

But then the resourceful squire hires a magician to remove the rocks, and suddenly Dorigen's honor is endangered. The squire comes to her, shows that the rocks are gone, and asks her to keep her promise to sleep with him. Dorigen knows that, rather than give herself to him, she should take her own life, and she recites a catalog of other women who chose the honor of suicide rather than submit to the dishonor of unchastity.

How does Dorigen solve her dilemma, the choice she must make between death or dishonor? Does she keep her promise to the squire and submit to his lust? Or does she keep herself chaste by killing herself? I will get back to those questions later. For now my point is that honor for the husband means the willingness to give up his life on the battlefield of war, whereas for his wife it means the willingness to give up her life on the battlefield of sex.

What do these literary examples show us? They show us, for one thing, that honor involves making choices.

It is no honor for a person to breathe, because we all breathe, whether we want to or not. It is no honor to die in an automobile accident or of cancer because such deaths do not involve choice. It is no dishonor not to go to war if there is no war to go to. It is no honor to remain chaste if one has no temptation, and no dishonor to be raped because the victim had no choice. For there to be honor a person must have a choice.

But not all choices involve honor. If we choose a chocolate ice cream cone rather than a pistachio ice cream cone, that, of course, is not a matter of honor. On the other hand, a few years ago it was a matter of honor to eat an apple rather than a grape because refusing the grape was a way of supporting the employment rights of a group of itinerant workers in the vineyards of California. Similarly, it is a question of honor to certain Americans not to buy a Toyota or a Rabbit because they want their fellow Americans to prosper. Honor, then, seems to involve a person making choices in consideration of the rights or well-being of other people.

But honor also means sacrifice. A person of honor will sacrifice small things--a handful of grapes--or bigger things, like the cost or durability of a Japanese or German automobile. People of honor sacrifice something that they could have so that some other person whom they care about can have something. Honor involves sacrificing income to help the needy, or the right of way to someone who deserves it more, or blood so that another may get well, or life itself so that others may live.

Implicit in all this is the notion of a higher principle, something that is more important than we are. For soldiers to have honor they must participate not in just any war, but in any just war. We rarely speak of mercenary soldiers as having honor, nor of military service aimed at world domination as being honorable.

Nor is it an honor to be chaste merely to win a chastity contest of some sort, or because one hates all members of the opposite sex. Rather, there is honor in chastity if it is chosen because of a higher principle, such as service to one's God, or loyalty to one's marriage vows, or the notion that sex without love is empty.

I feel ready to attempt my own definition of honor: *Honor is a quality demonstrated by choices that involve sacrifices made in accordance with a lofty principle.*

How does that definition apply to my real subject, the honor in teaching? Here the noun *honor* is modified by the prepositional phrase *in teaching*. What is honor in teaching? Where is the honor in teaching?

In answering those questions, the most obvious fact to notice is that we teachers have made choices. The most important one, of course, is that we chose to enter this profession in the first place. None of us had to be teachers. Few of us started college or even graduate school with the idea that this was our only option. We all had choices.

We have all heard the demeaning expression, "Those who can, do; those who can't, teach." That expression is demeaning not merely because it casts us teachers in the role of nondoers, but because it appears to have deprived us of a choice about our professional lives. That expression suggests that, because we could not do certain things, we were forced by a kind of default into teaching.

On the contrary, we are teachers because we chose to be teachers. We all had options. We were all at or near the top of our classes through high school and college. We were the cream. We rose to the top and, with a world of options at our doorstep, we chose to teach.

It is important to remember, then, that we chose this profession. We chose it not because we could do nothing else, but because this profession, more than any other, gives scope to our wide-ranging abilities.

I suggested earlier that honor involves both choice and sacrifice. I have no desire to make much of the sacrifices that teachers make. The sacrifices are obvious enough to everyone here. This profession carries with it no fame, little money, low prestige, and few of the perks that most people care about.

All right. We all knew that we were sacrificing the chance to become famous millionaires when we entered this profession. Most of us knew precisely what we were letting ourselves in for when we chose this profession, and most of us have no regrets.

I think of us all as Owen Warlands. Have you read Nathaniel Hawthorne's "The Artist of the Beautiful"? It is a wonderful little parable about a man named Owen Warland, a watchmaker's apprentice, who chooses not to devote his life to making and repairing watches. He decides instead to try to build--to create--a butterfly. In the process he sacrifices wealth and power and respect and even the love of a beautiful woman, but in the end he knows that in choosing the lesser he has really chosen the greater.

And even when his created butterfly is crushed by the gross hand of the son of the woman whose love he sacrificed, Owen does not mind. In making his butterfly, in dedicating himself to making it, Owen had "caught a far other butterfly" than those mundane ones he sacrificed. Instead of getting rich fixing timepieces, he transcends time by creating a moment of beauty.

We teachers are Owen Warlands. People sometimes feel sorry for us for having given up so very much in exchange for so very little, but we know which butterflies are worth chasing, don't we? That's a little secret we teachers share. We know that we are following a lofty principle.

And that takes us back to what I was saying about honor. I defined the word, you may recall, as a quality demonstrated by choices that involve sacrifices made in accordance with a lofty principle. What is this lofty principle that guides teachers? I suppose we all have different words for it, but I like to think that the lofty principle is no less than a commitment to civilization. Let me explain what I mean.

We teachers are less "now-bound" than the practitioners of most other professions. It seems that we are expected to take a long view of things--the view both back into the past and forward into the future. We are paid to know as much as we can about the past so that we can help those who come after us take humankind a few more steps ahead into the future.

The practitioners of most other professions seem to spend their lives far more in the present than we teachers do. I say this with all respect, because the work they do is important, also, and they do, after all, help to keep us teachers alive. A world in which everyone was a professional teacher is the last thing anyone would want. Our profession makes sense only if others have chosen other professions, like farming, and manufacturing, and engineering, and business, and diplomacy, and even flipping hamburgers.

I speak with respect, then, when I say that so many people seem to spend their lives adding up the daily till. Most people, in one sense or another, are now-bound, busy with the day-to-day present. They watch the Dow Jones averages. They wonder what the profits will be this quarter. They arrest people who violate laws today. They settle divorce cases today. They build or sell this year's Ford model. They report the news about today's earthquake in

China. They report the death of Communism in Russia, troop movements in Lithuania.

It is interesting that the practitioners of these other professions look to us teachers to be the guardians of civilization. I sometimes think that teaching is an underappreciated profession. Other times I am not so sure. We in the nonprofit sector have entrusted to us, after all, some pretty important matters. Why do parents send their children to us teachers? Why do alumni send their hard-earned dollars to their alma mater?

Why in the world does anyone pay me to be a Chaucerian scholar? Heavens, Chaucer died 600 years ago. What does he have to teach us that we could not learn more efficiently, more deeply, and more cheaply in some other way? Who cares that I insist that my students learn to read Chaucer in the original language? Who cares that I can recite, from memory, the opening lines of the *Canterbury Tales*? Who cares enough to pay my salary while I do that kind of thing, and make my students learn to do that kind of thing? Well, it is those nonteachers, those now-bound practitioners of other professions who know that it is vitally important that we not lose touch with the past, that we keep alive for mankind a sense of where we as a civilization have been and how we got to where we are now.

To us is entrusted not only the past, but also the future. People in all those now-bound professions entrust to us the nurturing of the intellectual development of new generations. They know that life is a kind of relay race in which there is no anchor person. We all carry the baton for a lap and then pass the baton ahead to the next runner who will carry it forward for another lap or two. We teachers should be honored that our fellow runners entrust the baton of civilization to us.

My point is that one way to see the honor in teaching is to see that we have made this choice of professions, have made these small sacrifices, in accordance with this lofty principle I call commitment to civilization.

In my earlier discussion of Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*, I left poor Dorigen uncertain about what to do about her dilemma. Her husband, Arveragus, was off at the wars, doing what knights of honor always do. His wife Dorigen, to brush off a young squire who had made dishonorable overtures to her, had promised to grant him her sexual favors only when the rocks off the coast of Brittany were removed, a task she knew to be impossible. But the resourceful squire had tricked her by hiring, at great expense, a magician to remove the rocks. It was a great expense indeed, twice what the squire owned, but the trick worked. After the magician got rid of the rocks, the squire came to remind Dorigen of her promise. Dorigen was distraught, knowing that she was obligated to honor her foolish promise to the squire, yet knowing that it was more honorable to kill herself than to dishonor her marriage vows by sleeping with anyone besides her husband.

In her quandary, poor Dorigen needs a teacher.

She finds one in her husband. I know, Chaucer was being sexist here also. All I want to say about that is that most writers in Chaucer's time were *sexist*, at least by our standards, and he was less so than most others of his time.

During the depths of his wife's suicidal despair, Arveragus comes home after two years away at the wars. Dorigen, unable to decide on her own what to do, confesses to him about her promise to the squire. Arveragus hears her out and tells her the honorable thing to do. She must, he says, keep her promise to the squire. Would you like to hear it in his own words, in Middle English, your language as it was 600 years ago? You will be able to understand if I tell you that the word *trouthe* in Middle English, meant *promise*, as it still does in our modern English word *troth* (as in "plight my troth"). Here is Arveragus speaking to his wife:

> Ye shul youre trouthe holden, by my fay! . . .
> Ye sholde youre trouthe kepe and save.
> Trouthe is the hyeste thyng that man may kepe.
> (F 1474-79)

Arveragus tells Dorigen that keeping one's promises is the highest good. He would rather be stabbed, he says, than have her break her promise.

Guided by her husband's advice that the most important thing in life is to keep our promises, Dorigen goes to the squire to keep her promise to sleep with him.

The story, of course, has a happy ending. Most of Chaucer's stories do. Dorigen tells the squire that she has come to him because her husband has told her that it would be dishonorable not to do as she had promised.

The squire, inspired by Dorigen's husband's nobility, learns a lesson in honor himself. If Arveragus can be so full of honor as to send his own wife to keep her promise, then the squire can be honorable as well. The squire generously and unconditionally releases Dorigen from her promise and sends her home untarnished by his lust.

When the squire goes to the magician to pay the enormous cost of removing the rocks, the magician asks him if he had enjoyed the favors of Dorigen. The squire says he has not. The magician asks why not. The squire then tells him the story of Arveragus's honorable generosity, and tells him that he, the squire, had then released Dorigen from her promise. The magician, inspired by this fine demonstration of honor in the knight and the squire, generously tells the squire that he need not pay him a penny for removing the rocks.

I am suggesting that the knight Arveragus is one of many in a long line of teachers who demonstrate honor. I ask you to notice several things about him. First, in sending Dorigen to the squire, he has made a choice. He need not have done that. He could, after all, have killed or locked away either the rash Dorigen or the lustful squire. But he does not do either of those. Rather he sends his wife to keep her promise.

Second, he has made a sacrifice, and a painful one. When he sends his wife to the squire, he weeps. Those tears prove that the choice to share his wife

with another was not an easy one, and certainly not one inspired by his failure to love his wife.

Third, he made a choice, and a sacrifice, on the basis of a lofty principle: that keeping one's promises is the highest thing, the most important thing, a person can do. Keeping one's promises, he indicates, is more important than chastity, more important than loyalty to one's marriage vows. Arveragus seems to know that a world in which we do not keep our promises--a world in which there is no honesty--is not a civilized world.

But we learn from Arveragus a fourth element of honor--that he does more than merely preach his lofty principles. He also demonstrates them in his own life. As a teacher of Dorigen he tells her, lectures her, if you will, about the principles of good conduct.

He teaches the other two, however--the squire and the magician--by the example of his own life. They never hear his lecture, but they learn from his example about the choices involved in honor, and about sacrifice. That they have learned by Arveragus's example is demonstrated in a sacrifice of sexual pleasure for the squire, a sacrifice of monetary gain for the magician. And they learn about the importance of lofty principles.

I suggest that those of us who demonstrate the honor in teaching do as Arveragus does. We do not merely talk the good talk in our classrooms. We also walk the good walk in the way we lead our lives. The honor in teaching, then, is finally the example that we set in our own lives.

We teachers are on display. Our students are watching. Our students are listening. What they see about our lives, what they hear us say about our own values, may in the end be at least as important as what we demonstrate or tell them about the subject matter that we are hired to teach.

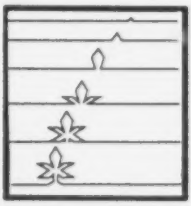
This is a strange profession, isn't it? I am suggesting that the most important thing we teachers teach is not the subject matter of our professional discipline, but the set of lofty principles that we demonstrate. I challenge you to think for a moment about the most important teacher in your life. Was it what he or she taught you about your subject matter that most profoundly influenced you? Or was it something else, something that the teacher stood for in his or her life apart from the subject matter?

For me, I know, it was the latter. And so I try to remember that to teach is a high honor, and that there is honor in teaching. I try to remember that I can teach Chaucer, yes, but more important I can teach by my own example a civilized way of life. I try to remember that for at least some of my students, what I am, what I stand for, what I reveal about my own choices, my own sacrifices, my own higher principles makes a more lasting impression than anything I say about Chaucer.

I do not suggest that honor in teaching requires that we walk around with our halos always polished bright. I do not suggest that we pretend never to lust, or that we have never sinned, or broken a promise, or violated a vow. I do suggest that we should show our students that we care about them, about

our teaching, about our mistakes, about our assignments, about our own learning, about our writing, about our families, about our lofty principles.

I am beginning to see that the highest honor in teaching is less what we teach by talking than what we teach by walking, less what we teach by saying than what we teach by being.



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